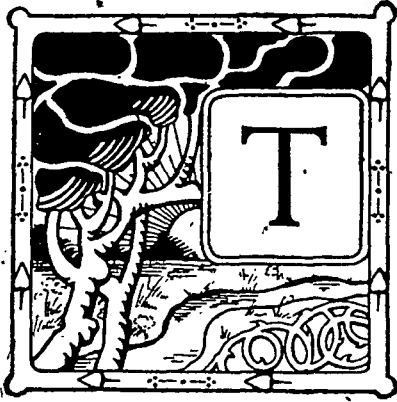
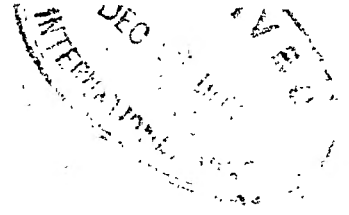


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# THE SIEGE OF OTTAWA

Being the story of the 800 farmers from Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, who met the government and members of parliament in the House of Commons Chamber on December 16, 1910, and demanded more equitable legislation. The Ottawa Delegation was called together under the auspices of the Canadian Council of Agriculture, the great Dominion-wide farmers' organization recently consummated. The farmers asked for no special privileges, but only that other interests be prevented from levying tribute upon them.

Edited by G. F. CHIPMAN

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PUBLISHED BY THE GRAIN GROWERS' GUIDE, WINNIPEG

# FREE TRADE HELPS MANUFACTURERS

Quite recently in response to a request from the Grain Growers' Guide, a number of the largest manufacturers in Great Britain explained why they were Free Traders. The following are extracts from letters of the British manufacturers:—

**WILLIAM ANDERSON, LIMITED, GLASGOW, (COTTON AND WOOL MANUFACTURER)**—"We exploit the whole world for raw material and lay the whole world under tribute for food stuffs. We are absolutely free from the handicap of protection in any shape, form or fashion. Our machinery is laid down, our factory buildings are erected, at a less cost than any other country. We never make anything, we can buy cheaper. \* \* \* \* I see no other result of the restriction of free imports than loss and ruin, and I am not yet tired of carrying on a profitable business."

**GEO. WOLSTENHOLM & SONS, LTD., SHEFFIELD, (CUTLERY MANUFACTURERS)**—"This company is able to charge low prices for the quality of goods which they supply because they can purchase their raw material from the cheapest market in the world, wherein no tariff impost makes such material dear, and can obtain labor at comparatively low rates because their workmen can live well and at comparatively small cost."

**WM. SMALE, MACCLESFIELD, (SILK MANUFACTURER)**—"I am a free trader because under the system of free trade we have cheap food and raw material, etc., which enables us to manufacture cheaper than our foreign competitors and thus compete successfully in neutral markets."

**JOHN LECKIE & COMPANY, (LONDON SADDLERY WORKS)**—"The reason why France, Germany and United States cannot compete against us on level terms is that these countries are so handicapped in the purchase of their materials by import duties."

**F. SCARF, WEST BROMWICH, (BROMFORD IRON WORKS)**—"I am a free trader because buying freely abroad, I can sell freely abroad—the one stream creates the other. I fear the tariff because I should be at the mercy of legislation, and should be forced to take a hand in political bargaining and intrigue."



## INTRODUCTION

When Sir Wilfrid Laurier visited the Prairie Provinces last summer he was met at every point by the organized farmers, who demanded tariff reduction. Shortly afterwards the Toronto Sun, the organ of the Ontario farmers, suggested the advisability of sending a large delegation of farmers from all Canada to Ottawa to lay their case before Parliament. The suggestion was endorsed by the Grain Growers' Guide, the organ of the Western farmers. Other journals also advocated the same move, and it rapidly found favor throughout all Canada. No movement of the same nature and magnitude was ever before seen in Canada. It is to have a permanent record of the work of this great delegation and the memorials it presented to the government that this booklet is published. Never before have the farmers taken a firm and united stand for economic justice. The spread of knowledge, however, is awakening the people of Canada to the injustice of the system now prevailing. It will be a great satisfaction to the farmers to know that their demands have been partially granted in the reciprocity arrangements that have been made with the United States. Natural products have been placed upon the free list, but there has been little reduction in the duty on agricultural implements. The farmers demanded free trade in agricultural machinery and also a substantial increase in the British Preference. There is only one way to secure the demands made at Ottawa. That is by strengthening the organization and convincing every man of the justice of those demands. The farmers of Canada have unfurled the flag of freedom and, backed by a knowledge of the justice of their claims, their cause is certain of ultimate triumph.

# The Farmers' Platform

The following are the resolutions presented to the Government on December the Sixteenth, 1910, by the Canadian Council of Agriculture

## THE TARIFF

The tariff demands of the organized farmers of Canada, made to Sir Wilfrid Laurier were in the following words:

"This delegation, representative of the agricultural interests of Canada, desire to approach you upon the question of the bearing of the Canadian customs tariff.

"We come, asking no favors at your hands. We bear with us no feeling of antipathy towards any other line of industrial life. We welcome within the limits of Canada's broad domain every legitimate form of industrial enterprise, but in view of the fact that the further progress and development of the agricultural industry is of such vital importance to the general welfare of the state that all other Canadian industries are so dependent upon its success, that its constant condition forms the great barometer of trade, we consider its operations should no longer be hampered by tariff restrictions.

"And in view of the favorable approaches already made through President Taft and the American Government looking towards more friendly trade relations between Canada and the United States this memorial takes form as follows:

"1. That we strongly favor reciprocal Free Trade between Canada and the United States in all horticultural, agricultural and animal products, spraying materials, fertilizers, illuminating, fuel and lubricating oils, cement, fish and lumber.

"2. Reciprocal free trade between the two countries in all agricultural implements, machinery, vehicles and parts of each of these; and, in the event of a favorable arrangement being reached, it be carried into effect through the independent action of the respective governments, rather than by the hard and fast requirements of a treaty.

"3. We also favor the principle of the British preferential tariff, and urge an immediate lowering of the duties on

all British goods to one-half the rates charged under the general tariff schedule, whatever that may be; and that any trade advantages given the United States in reciprocal trade relations be extended to Great Britain.

"4. For such further gradual reduction of the remaining preferential tariff as will ensure the establishment of complete free trade between Canada and the Mother land within ten years.

"5. That the farmers of this country are willing to face direct taxation in such form as may be advisable to make up the revenue required under new tariff conditions.

"Believing that the greatest misfortune which can befall any country is to have its people huddled together in great centres of population, and that the bearing of the present customs tariff has the tendency to encourage that condition, and realizing also that in view of the constant movement of our people away from the farms, the greatest problem which presents itself to Canadian people today is the problem of retaining our people on the soil, we come doubly assured of the justice of our petition.

"Trusting this memorial may meet your favorable consideration, and that the substance of its prayer be granted with all reasonable despatch."

On behalf of the Canadian Council of Agriculture.

(Sgd.) D. W. McQUAIG, Pres.

(Sgd.) E. C. DEURY, Secretary.

The other resolutions presented to the government were as follows:

## HUDSON'S BAY RAILWAY

"Whereas, the necessity of the Hudson's Bay railway as the natural and the most economic outlet for placing the products of the Western prairies on the European market has been emphasized by the Western people for the past generation;



"And whereas, the Dominion government has recognized the need and importance of the Hudson's Bay railway and has pledged itself to its immediate construction, and has provided the necessary funds entirely from the sale of Western lands;

"And whereas, the chief benefit to be derived from the Hudson's Bay railway will be a reduction in freight rates in Western Canada, due to actual competition, which could be secured only through government ownership and operation of the Hudson's Bay railway;

"And whereas, anything short of absolute public ownership and operation of the Hudson's Bay railway will defeat the purpose for which the road was advocated, and without which it would be in the interests of Western Canada that the building of the road should be deferred;

"Therefore, be it resolved that it is the opinion of this convention that the Hudson's Bay railway and all terminal facilities connected therewith should be constructed, owned and operated in perpetuity by the Dominion government under an independent commission."

#### TERMINAL ELEVATORS

"Whereas, we are convinced that terminal elevators as now operated are detrimental to the interests of both the producer and consumer, as proved by recent investigation and testimony of important interested bodies, we therefore request that the Dominion government acquire and operate as a public utility under an independent commission the terminal elevators of Fort William and Port Arthur, and immediately establish similar terminal facilities and conditions at the Pacific Coast, and provide the same at Hudson's Bay when necessary; also such transfer and other elevators necessary to safeguard the quality of export grain."

#### THE BANK ACT

"Whereas, it is generally believed that the Bank act, forming, as it does, the charter of all Canadian banks for a ten year term, by its present phrasing prevents any amendment involving curtailment of their powers enjoyed by virtue of the provisions of such charter,

be it resolved: That this Ottawa convention of delegates desire that the new Bank act be so worded as to permit the act to be amended at any time and in any particular."

#### CO-OPERATIVE LEGISLATION

"Resolved, that in the opinion of this convention it is desirable that cheap and efficient machinery for the incorporation of co-operative societies should be provided by Federal legislation during the present session of parliament."

#### CHILLED MEAT INDUSTRY

"The government be urgently requested to erect the necessary works and operate a modern and up-to-date method of exporting our meat animals.

"We suggest that a system owned and operated by the government as a public utility or a system of co-operation by the producers through the government, in which the government would supply the funds necessary to first instal the system and provide for the gradual repayment of these funds and interest by a charge on the product passing through the system, would give the relief needed, and make Canada one of the most prosperous meat producing countries in the world."

#### THE RAILWAY CASE

The organized farmers asked that the Railway act be amended so that the railway companies be compelled to bear a fair share of the responsibility for killing stock, and also:

"1. That the principle of fixing the tariffs in accordance with the competition of other roads or the density of traffic or volume of business handled be disallowed.

"2. That a true physical valuation be taken of all railways operating in Canada, this valuation to be used as a basis of fixing the rates, and the information to be available to the public.

"3. That the Board of Railway Commissioners be given complete jurisdiction in these matters as well as in all other matters of dispute between the railways and the people, and to enable them to do this that the law be more clearly defined."

# The Farmers' Delegation

What They Represented;  
Where They Came From and  
What They Did.

The largest delegation of farmers that ever appeared at Ottawa assembled in the Capital City on December 15, 1910. There were present 300 delegates from Ontario, representing the Dominion Grange, various fruit growers', breeders', dairymen's, and stockmen's organizations. There were 500 delegates from the Western Provinces, representing the Manitoba Grain Growers' Association, the Saskatchewan Grain Growers' Association and the United Farmers of Alberta. There were two delegates representing the Nova Scotia Fruit Growers' Association; two representatives from the New Brunswick Farmers' Association and seven individual farmers from the province of Quebec. The idea of sending a large delegation of farmers to Ottawa from all over Canada originated in Ontario and was quickly taken up by the Western Provinces. Ontario had a larger representation in the delegation than any other province. The annual meeting of the Dominion Grange was held in Toronto on December 13-14 and the delegates from the organization went directly to Ottawa where they were joined by the delegates from other parts of the province. The delegates from Western Canada went to Ottawa by special train. It was impossible for the Ontario delegates to make use of a special train from the fact that they came from so many different directions.

## On the Special Train

There was something unique in the fact that the majority of the farmers' delegates from Western Canada made the trip to Ottawa on a special train provided by the Canadian Pacific Railway. It is the first time in Canada that a special train was run to such a distance to carry a delegation of farmers. The special pulled out of the C.P.R. depot at Winnipeg at 11.30 on the night of December 12, immediately after the close of the banquet given to the delegates by citizens of Winnipeg. The two days en route to Ottawa were full of incident and interest. There were three hundred and twenty-eight passengers on board the train, and with the exception of about fifteen ladies, these

were all delegates. It was estimated that at least seventy-five delegates who had purchased tickets by the C.N.R. had been compelled to go to Ottawa via Chicago and also that a greater number had preceded the special train to Ottawa, so that the total delegation from the West would be about five hundred.

## A Business Trip

Immediately after breakfast, on the first morning out of Winnipeg, business began. The executive officers from the three provinces were all in the rear car which had been specially reserved for them in order that they might hold business meetings. These meetings were conducted continuously until a few hours before the train reached Ottawa. All the various subjects to be taken up with the government were discussed by the executive committee and the entire Western case prepared. So that the West was ready to meet the East before the train reached Ottawa.

## Car Meetings

Throughout the thirteen cars of the train meetings were held all day long. The farmers of the three provinces were given a splendid opportunity to become mutually acquainted and by so doing to realize that there was no difference of opinion among the farmers of the prairie. After meals the dining cars were cleared, and as they would accommodate one hundred men, meetings were held addressed by some of the orators on board—and there were plenty of them. On Wednesday afternoon when the various resolutions to present to the government had been adopted by the executive committee they were sent forward throughout the whole train and approved of by the delegates.

The delegation greatly appreciated the splendid service provided for them by the C.P.R. on the train. Nothing was left undone to make the trip to Ottawa as comfortable and pleasant as possible, and whatever the delegates might have thought in regard to the action of the C.P.R. at other times, nothing but praise was heard of the

manner in which they watched the interests of the passengers on that special train.

The Winnipeg Free Press and the C.P.R. Telegraph Co. combined, to supply a special news service to the train, so that the passengers were all in close touch with the outside world during the whole trip.

#### A False Report

On Wednesday afternoon a rumor was circulated that the government had just closed a deal with Mackenzie & Mann by which the Hudson's Bay Railway was to be handed over to those two enterprising gentlemen. The slumbering indignation on board that train blazed into a white heat, and the tenor of the remarks made would not be soothing either to Mackenzie & Mann or the government. Fortunately the rumor was proved to be without foundation, as far as could be learned. Shortly before reaching Ottawa a telegraphic dispatch reached the train from E. C. Drury, Master of the Dominion Grange. It contained the tariff resolution passed at the annual meeting of the Dominion Grange at Toronto. It was immediately discussed by the executive committee, and it was found that the East and the West were one.

There were newspaper men aboard the special from the time it left Winnipeg till the time it reached Ottawa, and special representatives of the Ottawa, New York and Montreal papers boarded the train east of North Bay at various points. The whole world was watching the progress of that special train from the West, and was anxious to know the feelings in the breasts of these three hundred farmers. Column after column of special dispatches and cable messages were sent out to hundreds of newspapers by the correspondents on the train. For the first time in history Canadian farmers were in the limelight of the world and the subject of discussion throughout the whole of Canada. As an advertisement nothing could be more successful than their trip to Ottawa.

One hundred miles west of Ottawa eight of the Conservative members of the House of Commons boarded the train and rode into Ottawa with the delegates.

#### The Farmers In Ottawa

From the time the five hundred farmer delegates from the West and the three hundred farmer delegates from the East reached Ottawa, the capital city belonged to them. A great

deal of curiosity was aroused in Eastern minds as to what appearance the Westerners would present. The majority of the East still expected to see a "wild and woolly" gathering armed with all sorts of shooting irons and ready to fight at a moment's notice. They were surprised to find that the Western farmers talked, acted, thought, ate, looked, and paid very much in the same manner that any other man would do. The East were sorry that there was nothing "wild and woolly" in the West. The term "sod busters" was a new one used by Easterners to describe the Westerners and seemed quite appropriate. The officers of the delegations from the East and the West stopped at the Russell House and the Windsor hotel and held their committee meetings at the Russell House. No time was lost in formalities. The farmers were there for business and realized that every minute would be needed. They met for an hour and prepared the joint tariff resolution for Canada, before the meeting of the great convention in the Grand Opera house at ten o'clock Thursday morning, December 15. The Mayor of Ottawa was present and in a three minute speech he welcomed the farmers to the National Capital. President McCuaig made a happy reply to the mayor. The officers of the Canadian Council of Agriculture occupied seats on the stage, while the delegates filled the body of the theatre and overflowed in the gallery. Of all the vast number of delegates from the Atlantic to the Rockies there was not one man who was not in accord with the resolutions passed at the convention and presented to the government. Every farmer seemed at last thoroughly awake to the fact that he was carrying on his shoulders burdens imposed by federal legislation.

#### The Convention

There were present at the convention about eight hundred delegates, of whom five hundred were from Western Canada, three hundred from Ontario, seven from Quebec, two from New Brunswick and two from Nova Scotia. The utmost unanimity of feeling marked the proceedings of the great convention held in the Grand opera house on December 15. Those delegates from the West who thought that their views on the tariff might be somewhat in advance of the views held by the Eastern farmers were most agreeably surprised to find that there was the same feeling towards the tariff in the East as in the West. The tariff resolu-

tion was passed without a dissenting voice by the great convention. There were speakers from every province in favor of it, and then the meeting was thrown open in order that any persons opposing the resolution might be heard. But no person could be found in all the vast meeting who had one single word of protest against the resolution. The other resolutions were also passed unanimously. Never was the business of any convention conducted with more dispatch or in a more businesslike way. There was only one day to perform the vast amount of work on hand, and the farmers' convention at Ottawa in 1910 marked a new era in the history of Canadian affairs. At 6 o'clock the entire platform had been prepared to present to the government, and had been unanimously endorsed by the great convention.

#### Officers Present

The officers and members of the Canadian Council of Agriculture and the representatives from Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Quebec were: D. W. McCuaig, of Winnipeg, president; James Bower, Red Deer, Alta., vice-president; E. C. Drury, Barrie, Ont. secretary-treasurer.

W. J. Tregillus (Calgary), E. J. Fream (Innisfail), James Speakman (Penhold) and D. W. Warner (Edmonton) representing the United Farmers of Alberta.

R. C. Henders (Culross), R. McKenzie (Winnipeg), Peter Wright (Sylvester) and J. S. Wood (Oakville) representing the Manitoba Grain Growers' Association.

F. W. Green (Moose Jaw), E. A. Partridge (Sintaluta), J. A. Maharg (Moose Jaw) representing the Saskatchewan Grain Growers' Association.

N. E. Burton, (Port Stanley), E. C. Drury (Barrie), J. J. Morrison (Arthur), W. L. Smith (Toronto), James McEwing (Drayton), J. G. Lethbridge (Alliance), Thos. McMillan (Seaforth) representing the Dominion Grange of Ontario.

S. C. Parker (Berwick), M. K. Ellis (Kentville) representing the Nova Scotia Fruit Growers' Association.

S. B. Hathaway (Fredericton) and W. M. Fawcett (Sackville) representing the New Brunswick Farmers' association.

W. L. Stephen (Huntington), David Bass (Cazanville), Arch. Muir, jr. (Huntingdon), Dr. R. W. Walsh (Huntingdon), Robt. Sellar (Huntingdon), James Bryson (Brysonville), Jos. Lafevre (Howick), James McKell (Riverfield), Alex. McGrath (Allens Corners), Alex. T. Cunningham (Brysonville) representing the Dairymen and Stockmen's associations of Quebec.

#### Farmers Attract Attention

During the week prior to December 16th there was no subject in Ottawa which aroused more interest than the approach of the farmers' delegation from all over Canada. The Western members in the House in particular were greatly interested, and the subject was discussed in party caucuses and in private gatherings. It was realized that when the farmers were thoroughly aroused it was time for the members of the House of Commons to pay attention to their demands. The various members of parliament who had constituents among the delegates entertained them while at Ottawa, and little private luncheons were the order of the day. Party politics were laid aside, and every man met on an even footing.

#### Before the Government

On the morning of December 16 the farmer delegates met in front of the Grand Opera House and marched four abreast up Parliament Hill to the National legislative buildings. They formed a most imposing sight and attracted a great deal of attention as such a large delegation to wait upon the government had never been seen at Ottawa. They filed into the House of Commons chamber and occupied the seats of the members, which were kindly given up to them for the occasion. The chamber was not large enough to hold all the delegation and it overflowed into the galleries. The members of the House of Commons were nearly all present and were scattered throughout the meeting. There were several members of the Manufacturers' Association present, including R. W. Breadner the tariff expert; W. H. Howley, president, and C. C. Ballantyne, ex-president, and one of the most interested listeners in the gallery was Senator Melvin Jones, president of the Massey-Harris company. Promptly at ten o'clock Sir Wilfrid Laurier entered the chamber, accompanied by D. W. McCuaig, president of the Canadian Council of Agriculture. Sir Wilfrid was given a splendid reception by the farmers, due to the high position which he occupies. He took his seat in the chair of the clerk of the House, immediately in front of Mr. Speaker's chair. At his left sat Sir Richard Cartwright, at his right D. W. McCuaig, E. C. Drury, secretary of the Canadian Council of Agriculture, and R. McKenzie, secretary of the Manitoba Grain Growers' Association. Other members of the cabinet present were: Hon. Sidney Fisher, Hon. McKenzie-King, Hon. William Patterson, Hon. Frank

Oliver, Hon. Chas. Murphy, Sir Frederick Borden and Hon. L. P. Brodeur. Mr. R. L. Borden, leader of the opposition, occupied a seat not far from Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and there were probably two hundred members of the House of Commons present in other parts of the chamber and galleries. Nearly every Western member was present.

The Dominion Millers' Association consider that government ownership and operation of the terminal elevators the only method by which the terminals can be made satisfactory to the grain trade. They therefore joined with the farmers' delegation in asking the government to take over and operate the elevators. The representatives of the Dominion Millers' Association present at the meeting with the government were D. B. Wood, of Hamilton, president; George E. Goldie, of Toronto; Hedley Shaw, of Toronto, representing the Toronto Board of Trade, and W. W. Richardson representing the Grain Exporters of Eastern and Western Canada. Each of these representatives presented an address to Sir Wilfrid Laurier supporting the requests of the farmers.

#### Publicity Helps Farmers

The press gallery and the press room in the House of Commons is one of the most important rooms in the building, as from it emanates all the news which informs the people of Canada and of the whole world what is taking place in the national legislature. In the press room are about thirty representatives of journals from all parts of Canada, New York, Boston and England. One of the busiest nights they ever spent was on Thursday, December 15th, after the farmers' convention. It was decided by the convention to hand out all information to the press, and to hold nothing back whatever, as it was felt that publicity was the greatest friend of the farmers' cause. The press committee composed of Messrs. E. J. Fream and G. F. Chipman, supplied to the newspaper representatives copies of all the resolutions passed at the convention, and also all the memorials which were presented to the government. They were wired all over Canada and the United States, and cabled to the Old Country. Every daily newspaper on Friday gave first place to the farmers. Some of them had very little other news in them except that of the farmers' delegations. Canada sat up on Friday morning and rubbed its eyes to see that the farmers were at last coming to the front and were capable of doing business at Ottawa, as well as were the manufacturers and other interests. The newspaper

men were glad to see the farmers arrive because it aroused interest and gave the public something to talk about. The ordinary newspaper man is a democrat and likes to see democracy forge ahead.

#### Business Before Pleasure

The Canadian Manufacturers were anxious to do something to entertain the farmers during their visit to Ottawa. An invitation was received from the Manufacturers on Thursday, asking the farmers to go to Montreal by special train and visit a large number of the manufacturing plants of that city. Another invitation was received from the Cockshutt Plow company to visit their works at Brantford, by special train. Other invitations were to visit the E. B. Eddy works and the J. R. Booth works in Ottawa. The farmers were not able to accept the invitations to visit any of the plants except those in Ottawa, and passed the following resolution:

"That, while thanking the Manufacturers for their kind invitation—we must express our regret at being at present unable to accept their offer, through pressure of business."

There was no feeling of animosity on the part of the farmers towards the manufacturers, but their business at Ottawa occupied their time fully until Friday night, and the majority of them wished to start on their homeward journey on Saturday morning.

Most of those who remained overnight on Friday visited the Central Experimental farm on Saturday morning, where they were received by the officials and shown everything of interest on the farm.

#### Earl Grey Entertains

One of the most enjoyable functions the farmers attended during their visit to Ottawa was the reception given by Earl Grey, governor-general, and Lady Grey, at Rideau Hall. Special street cars were provided on Friday afternoon at 3 o'clock, and more than five hundred of the delegates went out to Government House, where they were received by their excellencies and treated to refreshments. After conversing for a time with the Governor-General and Lady Grey they were shown through the magnificent home of King Edward's representative and went away delighted with the meeting. No person is better qualified to entertain citizens in every walk of life than is Earl Grey. He is regarded at Ottawa as one of the most popular, if not the most popular governor-general that Canada ever had. There was no opportunity for any person to feel awkward at Government House, and the farmers who were present

were not given to feeling out of place anywhere. Although their clothing was not of the latest cut, nor their whiskers trimmed in the most approved style, they realized the part they were playing in the upbuilding of the nation, and their feeling of dignity did not desert them. Owing to meetings of the executive officers they were not able to attend at Rideau Hall early in the afternoon, but went out later at the special request of the governor-general and were received in the same cordial manner.—To each of the officers Earl Grey presented an autographed copy of Sir Horace Plunkett's recent book on "Rural Problems of the United States," being a study of co-operative methods among the agricultural classes, and its benefits. In his chat with the farmers Earl Grey expressed his deepest interest in their work and in the movement which they were carrying on, and welcomed them to Ottawa as he has done with delegations representing other classes at many times. He expressed an interest in the work of the Grain Growers' Grain Company, and his great satisfaction that the company had devoted \$25,000 of its profits last year to educational work. This he felt to be one of the best possible moves that could be made toward building up a strong and intelligent race of people in the West.

#### Mr. Oliver's Banquet

The only banquet given at Ottawa was that given by Hon. Frank Oliver, Minister of Interior, to the Western delegates on the night of December 16 in the great restaurant of the House of

Commons building. There were more than five hundred farmers present, and the dinner provided was the choicest product of culinary art. Mr. Oliver sat at the head of the table and beside him were D. W. McCuaig, president of the Canadian Council of Agriculture, and Sir Frederick Borden, Minister of Militia. Others at the head of the table were E. C. Drury, secretary Canadian Council of Agriculture; James Bower, president U. F. A.; R. C. Henders, president M. G. G. A.; F. W. Green, secretary S. G. G. A.; R. McKenzie, secretary M. G. G. A.; and E. J. Fream, secretary U. F. A.; Peter Wright, James Speakman, D. W. Warner, A. G. Hawkes, Dr. T. Hill. The evening was most pleasantly spent in speech-making, and listening to the excellent program of music provided by the host. Sir Frederick Borden proposed the toast, "Canada," and the speakers in response were D. W. McCuaig and E. C. Drury. Other speakers of the evening were: R. C. Henders, F. W. Green, A. G. Hawkes and Dr. Hill.

#### Assistance Appreciated

The thanks of the farmers who attended the Ottawa convention is due to Mr. H. W. Baker, publicity commissioner of the city of Ottawa, for the splendid manner in which he provided for and assisted in every way in entertaining them. Mr. Baker supplied each delegate with a booklet, descriptive of the city, and assisted in locating the delegates at hotels. Such aid was much appreciated by the farmers.



# SOME TARIFF SPEECHES

The following are the addresses on the Tariff, delivered  
at the Convention, held in the Grand Opera  
House, Ottawa, on December 15th, 1910

E. C. Drury, of Barrie, Ont., Secretary Canadian Council of Agriculture, moved the adoption of the Tariff Resolution which was presented to Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and in doing so said:—

## MR. DRURY'S ADDRESS

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: — I think I am safe in saying that this is the great question that has brought us together today. We have men here from Alberta to Nova Scotia, and we have dealt with some questions which are almost purely Western questions. We men of the east are with you in them; that is, we will say you have our sympathy and we will do our best to help you in them, but the great question of the day as far as the farmers of the East are concerned is the question of the tariff. (Hear, hear). Now your council has already done a good deal of work in the matter, and the business of the remainder of this session will be to present to you in brief form the conclusions that have been arrived at by the executive of the council for your approval, in order that you may endorse them or amend them if necessary, and the executive of the council may embody them in a memorial to Sir Wilfrid Laurier tomorrow morning. So it becomes my duty to read to you the proposals that, with your approval, we propose to lay before the government. These are as follows:

### The Proposals

First, that we shall ask for reciprocal free trade between the United States and Canada in all horticultural, agricultural and animal products, spraying materials, fertilizers, fuel, illuminating and lubricating oils, cement, fish and lumber.

Second, that we shall ask for reciprocal free trade between the two countries in all agricultural implements, machinery, vehicles and parts thereof.

The third is with regard to the British preference. (Applause).

That we ask for an immediate lowering of the duties on all British imports

to one-half the rates charged under the general tariff, whatever these may be, and that any trade advantages given the United States in reciprocal trade relations be extended to Great Britain. (Applause).

Fourth, for such further reduction of the remaining preferential tariff as will ensure the establishment of complete free trade between the Dominion and the Mother Country within ten years.

Now these are the articles that, with your approval, or subject to your amendment, will be embodied in our memorial. One further thing is necessary. If we are confronted with the proposition that to follow these proposals would be to materially lower the revenue of the country, we must be prepared to make some stand on that question, and we propose to add this to our memorial: "That the farmers of this country are willing to face direct taxation in such form as may be advisable to make up the revenue lost under new tariff relations."

Those are the proposals drawn up and submitted to you for your approval by the executive of the National Council of Agriculture.

Now, in speaking to this question, I would like to say a few words, and at the beginning I would say I believe the farmers of Canada have nothing but good will towards our manufacturers. Speaking for myself and from my knowledge of farmers, I would say that we wish to see our manufacturing towns thrive; we want to see these wonderful waterpowers developed and used in manufacturing enterprises, but as a friend at the Dominion Grange said yesterday, we want the manufacturers to stand on their own feet and not on ours. Because the manufacturers at the present time are not standing on their own feet, and they are standing on ours,

very decidedly so, and we feel it sorely and we are greatly inconvenienced by it.

### Development Being Retarded

We are not dealing today with the theoretical question of free trade or protection. That is not the question that is coming before us. There are many men in this country who were protectionists, and for my own part I do not see any objection to the system of protection if it does what it is intended to do, that is to assist for a short time an infant industry until it can get on its feet. But no one contemplated that this would run on for years and become a permanent burden on this country. And that is the position we are in today. Our organized manufacturers are holding up the country. They are not trying to develop the country or to increase its output, but to hold up the country for their own benefit. The worst opposition that any manufacturing industry would meet if it endeavored to establish itself in this country would be from our own manufacturing industries. They are doing our basic industry untold harm. My interests are in the farm.

In dealing with any national question we should throw aside our class prejudices, and I would present this question not from the farmers' standpoint, but from the standpoint of building up a great empire. Since last summer when Sir Wilfrid Laurier went through the West our opponents have endeavored to represent the farmers as a selfish class, not willing to take their share in the up-building of the country. We are not asking anything from the manufacturers. We are not going to do them one particle of harm; we are simply asking for a little more justice than we have at the present time. That is all we are asking for. We are not asking that any system be introduced which would tax the manufacturers for the benefit of the farmers; we are not asking that one single cent be taken from any other class and given to the farmers, but we are asking that this system which was established for the benefit of our infant industries and has now become a system of legalized robbery should be put a stop to.

### Antiquated Methods

I intend to give a few concrete instances. We believe that the manufacturing industries are rotten in their organization. That is a hard term to use and in making use of it I have no personal aversion to manufacturers; I

would like to see them prosper. But an abominable system has been introduced, and that is the practice of watering stock. Very few of our manufacturing industries are properly organized. Some are watered to the extent of 90 per cent., and they are asking the public to pay a reasonable dividend on that watered stock. There are in this country industries that are run on lines so antiquated and out of date that they cannot be run at a proper profit. I am told that some of the manufacturers of this country are using machinery that was discarded in the Old Country 50 years ago. If we farmers were to use the antiquated implements that our grandfathers used we would not have a right to ask the government to protect us. Unfortunately the light has not come in in many cases, but one of our chief outcries in the matter of the tariff has been in connection with the cotton industry. You have heard a good deal about that. You have heard the manufacturers of cotton materials saying that unless they have protection they will be forced out of business. The Dominion Textile company is one of the largest cotton concerns of this country. They were organized some years ago. They had trouble two years ago, their employees struck because of a cut of ten per cent. in their wages. Mr. MacKenzie King went down to investigate the trouble, and some facts came out which throw a little light on the inside, where very little light usually penetrates. I believe if the consumers generally, not only the farmers, but consumers of every class, knew something of the manufacturing industries, how they are run and how they are organized, and the profits they are paying, there would not be any need of a deputation coming here.

### Knowledge Not General

Our members of parliament do not know these things, but there is a blue book in existence which gives a great deal of information as to the Dominion Textile Co. A few days ago I was talking to a prominent member of parliament about this and he did not know that this report was in existence. There is a man who is paid by his country and was elected by his constituents, but he was not aware of this report which was presented to the government dealing with this important matter. One of the statements in this book is that the capitalization was made at 10 cents on the dollar. It was done at the time a merger was formed by a number of cotton manufacturers. There is some



reason for selling stock sometimes at less than 100 cents on the dollar when a new enterprise is being established, but when you have a concern with mills which have been running and you bring them together under one company there is no occasion for doing so.

The report says that the common stock of this company was capitalized at 10 cents on the dollar and that it was enabled to pay 50 per cent. in dividends on the money they actually put into the concern in the year they cut the rate of wages, and that they issued a circular just before they made that cut. They said: "Unfortunately the cotton trade of this country does not receive sufficient protection, and it is possible for the manufacturers of England and the United States to undersell us, which means that we do not secure all the business to which we have a right. With more protection our mills would be enabled to run full time, and the companies would be in a position to give better wages."

They were paying 50 per cent. dividends when they issued that circular. Now, gentlemen, the light has not shone in on many occasions, but this is one of the cases where the facts have become public. I have published these facts, and the public are getting to know them, but this is only one case, and we are doing something for the good of the country in asking that this system be swept away.

It is based on misrepresentation; in the ordinary way we would say that it is based on a lie.

The report of which I have reference was issued by the government in 1909; it is sessional paper No. 39 and is called "Report of Royal Commission to inquire into industrial disputes in the cotton factories of the province of Quebec."

The secretary of the Dominion Textile Co. was under question and the report reads as follows:

"Q.—How much did the common stock cost the original owners? A.—It cost the original owners ten cents on the dollar.

"Q.—How much interest does that stock pay? A.—Fifty per cent. on the cost."

Now we are told that if we sweep away this system that we will do a great deal of harm to our factory employees. We are told that it exists for the benefit of the workman, and I say that if we were doing one thing that was making the lives of our workmen in the factories harder I would pause and consider a long time before I would do it.

(Hear, hear). Let it be understood at once that there is no antagonism between the farmer and the workman. We are workers ourselves. We know what hard work is, and my sympathies are fully with those who work with their hands. The farmer and the workman stand on common ground. But how was this company treating its employees? The wages they got were not high. They worked by piece work and their average earnings ran from 98 cents to \$1.63 per day—not a very great amount. And let us see what hours these men had to work to earn these wages. There is a paragraph here which deals with the treatment of one class of employees. It reads as follows:

#### Hours of Labor

"It has been shown that of the operatives employed in the Quebec cotton mills 42.3 per cent. are females and 26.6 per cent. were persons under 18 years of age. As to the hours of labor of all these two classes it was asserted that in normal times under normal conditions work should begin on week days at 6.15 o'clock in the morning and continue to 12 noon, resume at a quarter to one, and continue till 6, with the exception of Saturday, when there was work only in the morning."

Those were the conditions under which women and children were employed by a company that was paying 50 per cent. profit and asking for more protection. Are we going beyond our rights when we claim that we shall not be taxed for the benefit of such a company?

I believe that a commission that would go into facts like these fully and would show the conditions existing in our manufacturing industries would arouse such a storm of public sentiment against protection as would sweep it away forever.

Agriculture no doubt has suffered. We talk a great deal about our agricultural development, but with our excellent system of agricultural education that we have, there is no doubt that education is doing a great deal for us, the agricultural colleges, the farmers' institutes and so forth.

You know we have had a great deal of advice within the last year or two about the decrease in farm output, chiefly by men who are not on farms, and I would suggest that these people who talk this way should put themselves in the hands of a committee, and go on a 200 acre farm and work it themselves and see how they would make out. (Hear, hear, and laughter).

We have advanced a long way in our methods of farming, and yet the farm production and farm population is decreasing in every province east of Manitoba, and in Manitoba the town population is increasing faster than the rural population. And the reason is that the farmer is taxed more than he can stand.

#### Farmers Not Protected

We stand to lose nothing by free trade. The offer is not made out of a spirit of generosity, but because we have nothing to lose. In farm products we have more than we can possibly consume, and unless we can combine and have two prices, one for home trade and one for export which we do not want to do, we can only get the full value of our goods by having free access to foreign markets.

But the price of everything we buy is raised by reason of the tariff. I have done a little careful figuring on this subject, and I have consulted a great number of farmers, and they think that when I say we farmers are paying on the average \$200 a year by reason of the tariff that I am well within the mark. That is something that we do not get any return for. My friend Mr. McKenzie, of Winnipeg, made a calculation in 1905, and he found that in that year the tariff enabled the manufacturers to take out of the pockets of the consumers of Canada \$199,000,000. When we consider that, is it any wonder that the agricultural population is shrinking? That is the greatest question of the day. We talk a long while about our government expenditures, and I think it would be well for the farmers to urge upon the government the necessity of economy, because all our expenditures are not for useful purposes but our manufacturers are enabled to levy a sum three times as large as that which the government levies and for that we get no return. It was suggested at the Grange that we might be responsible for spiritual degeneration of the manufacturers owing to the large amount of ill-gotten wealth they have been allowed to accumulate. (Laughter). But be that as it may, this is a matter of vital national importance. There is no doubt that the farms of this country are the greatest national asset we have. The wise handling of these farms is of the greatest importance. In the West you are endeavoring to follow the best methods of farming, and you are doing it from necessity, because you cannot afford to do anything else. We are doing the same in

Ontario, and if our conservation commission would do something towards conserving the most important of our national assets, the fertility of the farms of our country, they would be doing something of very great value.

#### Reciprocity

To have access to the markets of the United States would mean a great deal to us in the East. In the West it would mean a great deal to you if you could get your wheat across the line to the western States. As for loss, I believe it would mean absolutely nothing. There has been a statement made that in a small section of Ontario the fruit growers would suffer, but if they were to get the benefit of cheaper goods which they consume I do not believe they would suffer at all. We shall hear from some big fruit men this afternoon.

Then we ask for free trade between the United States and Canada in spraying materials (a great advantage to our fruit growers), fertilizers (a great advantage to our potato growers in the Maritime provinces especially), fuel, illuminating and lubricating oils (which would mean a great advantage to many people and could not do any harm), and cement. Now we want free trade in cement, certainly we do. Why should we be taxed for the benefit of a cement combine? It is asserted that a cement combine exists; we have not been able to get very definite facts with regard to it, but we believe that it exists. Then we ask for free trade in fish. Ask the men from the Maritime provinces about that. That is a great thing for them to be able to get into the markets of the United States with their fish. And lumber (hear, hear). Lumber for you men in the West; you know what that would mean for you.

#### Manufacturers Will Stay

Second we ask for free trade between the United States and Canada in all agricultural implements, machinery, vehicles and parts thereof. That is that we accept the standing offer of the United States in this matter. Of course you know it is opposed. The Massey-Harris Company oppose it, and for two or three reasons. As you have gathered from Senator Melvin Jones' letters in the papers, one is that if they had not a protective tariff they would get up and move across the line. We would be sorry to lose them. I look with pride upon the Massey-Harris factory in Toronto and I should indeed be sorry if it had to be closed. But I do not

see why they cannot manufacture agricultural machinery here as well as across the line. If they had any patriotism they would. I have enough patriotism to stay here, even though I could make a few dollars more somewhere else. There is no reason why they should not stay in Canada and continue to manufacture agricultural implements, and prosper, and I believe they would. They have bought a plant across the line, they have bought it for good and sufficient business reasons, we are told, but we shall never see the Massey-Harris company move their establishment here. They are going to stay here, and if we have free trade, as I believe we are in agricultural implements, they will find a market extending north, east, west and south. I think sometimes these companies need a little enlightening, because if the same reasoning powers go into the management of their business as into their arguments they must be pretty badly managed. For instance, one of the reasons given against the removal of the duty was that the tariff had brought the McCormick people to Hamilton. Then it was said that the tariff was needed to produce revenue. But there is inconsistency there because when the McCormick people were in Chicago the government collected the revenue, but when they moved into Canada the McCormick people collected it. So that the arguments used against free trade on account of revenue fall absolutely flat. Nearly every manufacturing concern in Canada gets its implements and materials free, while the farmer pays on everything he buys.

I do not think there will be much doubt as to your approval of this clause with regard to free trade in agricultural implements and machines, including all kinds of machinery used on the farm.

#### The British Preference

Then we are asking in the third place for something that I believe everyone will thoroughly concur in, because after all there is no basis of fact in all this talk that Canadians are not loyal to the empire and that Canadian farmers require petting and coaxing and treating in various ways to keep them within the empire. We are going to show them that the Canadian farmers can excel the flag-flapping class of Canadian by a long way, because we are going to ask for an immediate lowering of the duties on British imports to one-half the rates charged under the general tariff, what-

ever these may be, and that any trade advantages given the United States in reciprocal trade relations be extended to Great Britain. (Loud applause).

Now, I am not going to talk patriotism, because patriotism has been said to be the last refuge of a scoundrel, but this would be a practical measure of patriotism and would go a long way to help our fellow workers in the factories of Great Britain. We are not going to say, so far as your executive is concerned at least, that in return for our asking that, that we want the Britishers to tax their food supplies in order to give us a preference. (Loud cries of "No, no"). We know what protection has done for us and we do not want to ask the starving factory hands of Great Britain to tax their loaf for the benefit of the Western wheat grower, nor to tax their meat for the benefit of the Ontario livestock man. That is a thing that the Canadian farmers, if I understand them, will not do. (Loud applause).

#### A Selfish Motive

But if it comes down to the actual facts, we are probably doing it largely from a selfish standpoint, because we want relief from the burdens that are pressing us, and we think we see a chance of doing that and helping our friends in the Mother Country as well. We want them to give us relief with their cotton goods, their woollens and many other lines of manufactures.

I want to see the political party that will come out and oppose that if it is demanded by 800 organized farmers, representing the organized farmers from Nova Scotia to the Rocky Mountains, and I would like to see the party that would dare to say that they will oppose the increase of the British preference. A trade between Great Britain and Canada would help us largely in disposing of our products, reduce our freight rates, cut down our living expenses, enable us to pay our hired workers better wages, and wages that are better to them. The workers from Great Britain when they get our high wages think it is great to have them, but when they find out the cost of manufactured articles they sometimes think they would have been just as well off in Great Britain.

For these reasons we ask that the British preference be reduced so that in ten years there shall be complete free trade between Canada and the Mother Country. (Loud applause). That is the proposal that we submit to you, and if you approve of them your council will

embody them in a memorial to be presented to the government, and I believe if you ask for that, you will get it. I beg, Mr. Chairman, to move the resolution which I have already read. (Cheers).

## QUEBEC ON HAND

Robert Sellar, Huntington County, Que.:—I would suggest to you, gentlemen, that it is only fair that each province should have some representative to speak its views, and that there should be a limit as to time, and I tell the chairman if I go beyond ten minutes to pull my coat. I will speak to you about reciprocity. Supposing an American farmer wants a Canadian farmer's hog, and the American farmer says to the Canadian farmer: "I would like your pig." They are both farmers; they are neighbors, but they cannot exchange that pig without each paying a fine upon the exchange. There is a string of blue-coated men to prevent exchange between the two countries. You cannot separate the two countries. They are placed there for all time and yet they cannot be allowed to exchange commodities together. I say no. Why are the American government keeping up a custom house every ten miles across 3,000 miles? If we are not going to be allowed to exchange commodities we might as well go out of the country altogether and put up a sign of "Bankruptcy." It is said this is not loyal talk; it is not loyal to buy from them; it is not loyal to sell to them. Our loyalty is to the country of our birth, and that is Canada. We think we have something a little better than our neighbor and we are going to be loyal for that reason, not because there is a fence put up to keep us from trading together, and, gentlemen, can you tell me any better way to keep in peace with our neighbor than in trading with them? We have lived a hundred years in peace. We have said we must have defence—defence against whom? The Americans are just as well disposed towards us as we are disposed towards them. We differ as to political institutions, but we do not differ in living in peace to each other and acting as good neighbors should. I tell you that all that talk about red coats and defence is absolute bosh. It means the spoiling of our own men by enlisting them. We have no need of soldiers and we have no need of a scrap-iron navy, either. Give us an honest government and there will be no need of a special tax on the farming implements to make up a navy.

Now, gentlemen, remember this: You are going to lay your petitions before them; how is it going to be done? Are you going to ask them to excuse you? Perhaps you saw that picture the manufacturers have—"The beggars have come to town." But now it is: "The masters have come to town!" You have the power to dictate to the government of this country and you are fools if you do not do it. You want to go up to the house tomorrow and show them that you are men, demanding as men that we get reciprocity.

## ALBERTA VIEWS

Jas. Speakman, Penhold, Alta.—Mr. President and Gentlemen:—I have been travelling since last Friday night, with the exception of resting on Sunday, and not resting while we were travelling, working in the cars as hard as we could as we went along to get these questions ready. And this meeting so far has more than repaid all the worry and all the work that I felt in connection with this great organization this day. I didn't want to leave home and I felt the responsibility of this job, and there was one worry that has completely ended today. I seem to feel quite as much at home in Ottawa and Ontario as I did in the finer and better climate of Alberta. (Applause). When I left Alberta I hardly needed an overcoat, and today my ears nearly froze! The subject I want to talk about is the wonderful enthusiasm and unanimity with which you have accepted the resolutions that the Council have put before you this afternoon. Some of us would have liked to have gone further than the resolutions proposed, and we would have been inclined to have been a little more courageous. We were told all the time that when you come up to Ontario you will have to modify your views. The wise men of the East are not quite so extreme as you men in the West, and some of you who read the "Toronto Globe" will find the Farm Editor tells us that most of the farm readers are extremely narrow and wilful, and he said we would have to be moderate in our views, but it seems to me you Ontario people and Nova Scotia would go as far as we would in the West. We had those proposals before you, and if you had time I would like to reason them out with you, but I think it is hardly necessary. This tariff question has been put completely before you. In regard to this reciprocity question I must refer to a speech that was made

not long ago by the Hon. Senator Ross. It may be that we Western people have not enough reverence for senators, but some of those arguments didn't impress us much. The first argument was this, that because in 1866 the American statesmen of those days did something that wasn't pleasing to Canada, therefore today in 1910 we must be very careful not to be friendly with the Americans. Because your grandfather and mine quarrelled when we were children it would be a reason for us not to be too friendly today. I am only an old farmer, but somehow that does not get into my head. The next argument is this, the United States tariff is much higher than Canadian. The Canadian is now very low. Why should you be so generous as to lower it still more? Because the United States people like to tax themselves very heavily on all the stuff they have to wear, therefore you Canadians take care that you tax yourselves just as heavily on all the stuff you use in your own country. When I was a school boy I used to have a temper that wasn't very pleasing to my mother, and sometimes if something happened I didn't like I would walk out of the house without my breakfast—just to vex my mother! Before dinner came round I knew who was most vexed! Isn't that just the kind of thing we are asked to do? We have found out that the tariff is the part of the shoe that pinches most. We have got to put our hands in our pocket and pay the high prices. And then the usual cry for patriotism. Patriotism always means a system by which people can gather in Canadian money. Under this patriotism we have today, the more foreign goods I buy the more patriotic I am, because only on foreign goods do I pay revenue into my country. That kind of patriotism that makes a man buy foreign goods to pay the taxes into his own exchequer—that is the kind of patriotism I don't understand.

Now it almost looks as if opening the way out south would mean building up a great wall east so that we wouldn't send them where we do now. I don't understand that anybody wants to shut the door against Great Britain when we are opening the door to the United States. We would have just the same privilege with Great Britain as we have today and in addition we would have the ability to go south. When I want to sell to a neighbor south and they say: "That is not allowed; you must sell to your neighbor east," I say: "I am the best judge

of that. We live in the land of liberty and if I want to trade south, who is going to tell me I must trade east?" If the United States throw open their market to us through this treaty and we get better profits selling there, naturally we will sell there, and if we don't get better profits there, if we can sell as well in Great Britain we can sell to Great Britain if we make most there. And there perhaps the crux of the whole thing comes in. I have an idea that that lies underneath the whole thing at bottom: If we can ship cheaper and better by running through the United States lines than through the Canadian lines. The freight question is almost a greater question to us in the West, and if these new route channels for freight to the United States show them that they have competition they will have to cut down their rates. I didn't expect to take up so much of the time but I am especially glad to know that you are determined that our old Mother Country shall not take a back seat—that whatever negotiations we have with any other country, I am especially glad that as an old Englishman, though I have been 25 years in the New Country, I have still a warm spot for my old Motherland, and I find that Canadians have more loyal feeling for the Old Land than our brothers in Great Britain. What makes my heart boil is when politicians tell us that we want to tax the food of Great Britain in order to enrich ourselves with larger profits. Ask a Canadian—whether he is a Canadian Liberal or a Canadian Conservative—and he will say at once: "I will have nothing to do with the system that will make the food of the toiling masses of the great old country dearer."

## HURON COUNTY VOICE

Thos. McMillan, Seaforth, Ont.: — Chairman and Fellow Farmers: — The question was asked: Who was this McMillan? Well, sir, I happen to be one of the representatives from the County of Huron. Our Western friends have often heard the question—They didn't know how large Ontario was, but Huron and Bruce must be a pretty large place because it filled all the Western country. I am gratified to see this enthusiastic audience here before us—an audience of farmers, who have come to impress their will. We know that we owe a debt of gratitude to the farmers of the West for the stand they have taken in this question. We notice

that our friends, the manufacturers, told the farmers or Canada that the tariff question was one they didn't need to meddle with; that they didn't need to pay any attention to it. This is the reply we give to the manufacturers of Canada. They went even further; they published the statement in the leading journals, that the farmers of Ontario were not in sympathy with the farmers of the West for lower tariff. I heard a gentleman say that this delegation only represented one out of thirty of the farmers of the West. I tell you, gentlemen, that the two or three hundred farmers who are here do not represent one out of every hundred farmers in the East. (Applause). They are even more vitally interested than the people of the West. We have been told that it would be disloyal for us to trade with our American neighbors. Those who think that the patriotism of Canada is nothing but a commercial commodity to be bandied away are very far wrong. I know I express your sentiments when I say that there are no worthier people on the face of the globe today than the people who find their homes on the Canadian shores. (Applause).

## NOVA SCOTIA HEARD FROM

S. C. Parker, secretary of the Nova Scotia Fruit Growers' Association: I come here at this time to bring you greetings from the East, from that little province where we feed on fish and potatoes, and which has supplied two prime ministers to Canada, and which is in line for the next which ever way the cat jumps, and a province which has supplied a fair proportion, at least of the brawn and brain that is building up the West. I am simply here to bring our greetings to you. We came here to get in line with you. We have watched this great movement, and we want to get on the top of the tide which is growing and which is rushing on. On this matter of the tariff we can concur with you in the platform laid down by this resolution. We might have had differences of opinion on some questions, for every province has its own interests, but on the great issue of better trade, freer trade with the mother country and with the great country across the border, we are with you every time. We want to get in with this organization. We are few in numbers and small in representation. As you people grow we are going out, but we are going to grow too. The West is going to see a boom in Nova Scotia in the next ten years that it little dreams of. Our fruit business is growing at an enormous rate. We have already

given you apples, we are going to give you more and we are going to give you good ones. I do not know whether our coal goes out to the West (A voice: Send it round by Hudson's Bay). I just came here to tell you that Nova Scotia is still alive. (Loud applause and three cheers for Nova Scotia).

## MANITOBA STANDS FIRM

Roderick McKenzie, secretary-treasurer Manitoba Grain Growers' Association — It would be very unwise for me to enter into an argument on the question before you. I am satisfied in my own mind that this gathering is going to pass this resolution if not unanimously, so near unanimously that we can still call it unanimous. So that it does not need any argument to be advanced in favor of the resolution. I want to say that, as the chairman has said, we have here nearly all the provinces in the Dominion. I think Prince Edward Island is the only one not represented. Manitoba is the last to speak on this resolution but I do not think it is the least. It is sometimes called the postage stamp province, but the most valuable articles are always wrapped up in small parcels. We can all congratulate ourselves as farmers upon the situation that we find ourselves in today, when we get representative farmers from every province of the Dominion except one to stand up and support a resolution. It is unique in the history of Canada, and it marks a new era in Canadian history for the farmers to come here in this way to present their views to parliament. The only objection that we have heard here came from someone who is outside the organization, and I think we ought to take a lesson from that and get every farmer into our organizations (applause). We have worked for this, we have been organizing for a number of years, and we have had to meet the attacks of those who enjoy special privileges. I think this meeting will clearly indicate to everyone that the farmers of Canada are united in their opposition to the present fiscal system, and that there must be a change in the system of collecting revenue and that we should have relief from the burdens that are placed upon us by the tariff. I trust that the relations of the farmers' associations in different parts of the Dominion will continue to grow together and that this meeting is but a foretaste of what will be in the future. (Loud applause and three cheers for Manitoba).

## FREE TRADE DANGER FAKE

Colonel Fraser, Ontario: Mr. President and gentlemen.—It is not my intention to dwell at any great length upon the subject which is being discussed here this afternoon. I will be very brief, but before commencing I must congratulate you, Sir, upon the large attendance that we have here. Not only in numbers do they excel but the very intelligence of their faces is one that brings gladness to the heart in any audience. It shows that they have gone through stern trials and passed through tribulation and hardship, but it shows the metal and the nature of the metal that the men of the East and the West are made of. It shows the mettle of the people of this great Dominion of ours and I want to say that when you speak of the loyalty—and I have been connected with the military institutions of this country for a third of a century—I want to tell you, Sir, that when the armies and the navies of this country are swept away, there is a bulwark stronger than either in the sturdy people of this country. Gentlemen, there are one or two points that I would like to have seen mentioned in this resolution. We cannot all be unanimous upon one opinion. I come from the province of Ontario, very contiguous to the gentleman at the back who has dissented. He has a perfect right to do so. One of the great principles that I have always stood for is the right of opinion to my adversary. I do not think that because a man opposes me that I am right and he is wrong. We have a perfect right to differ upon any subject whether it is the momentous subject that concerns the welfare and prosperity of a nation or whether it is the trivial circumstance affecting only the community in which we reside. I concede the right of difference of opinion to everyone. I do not say that because I differ from a man I am right and he is wrong, or that he is right and I am wrong. We may both be wrong. The point that I wish to draw your attention to is this—is it not a pleasant fact to realize that in this vast audience there is only dissenter against the resolution. Is it not convincing proof of the practical unanimity of the agricultural community of Canada on this question of the tariff?

### Manufacturers Can Stand Alone

Just a word with regard to manufacturers. I was in Hamilton the other day and met a large number of manufacturers there. They said if you give us reciprocity with the United States you will ruin the manufacturing industries. I said, "Gentlemen, we have had the national policy for thirty years, if it was the protection

part of the national policy that brought these manufacturers to this country, why did they not come here twenty-five years ago?" It was the trade of this country they came after, not the national policy (applause). A few years ago when the duty on twine was cut in two what was the result? We were told that the twine industries of this country were ruined. But you know that the government went further and cut the duty off entirely, and yet the Plymouth Cordage Company came into the town of Welland and bought a plant for \$2,000,000. It was not the national policy they wanted. It was trade. In the town where I live the Cockshutt Plow Company in spite of the American duty on agricultural implements, sent over seventy-five car loads of plows to the United States last year, and only the other day three car loads of cream separators were shipped from Brantford to California. And so on down the list. The Massey-Harris Company are not going to leave this country. If they would sign a contract tonight that they would leave Canada \$3,000,000 could be placed into that business tomorrow morning.

Some of you have great difficulties to contend with. You have left comfortable homes and happy firesides and you have gone up into that cold and once barren West where but a few years since the white man was not known. When I was a boy the immigration agents of the United States were endeavoring to get settlers from the British Isles and they had maps printed to show to the yokels of that country. Those maps were beautifully colored and south of the 49th parallel there were green fields and smiling orchards, and north of that line icebergs and polar bears. Is it any wonder that that country was kept back? It was left to you sturdy men with your honesty and your industry to make that country known to the whole world, until today the eyes of every nation is upon it and it is known as the greatest country that any nation or any empire ever had. Gentlemen, you are on the right track. I believe the destinies of this Dominion can be safely left in the hands of an intelligent people such as I see before me here, and I feel satisfied that if they endorse a particular course of action, that course is not very far wrong (loud applause and three cheers for Ontario).

## NIAGARA FRUIT GROWERS' PROTEST

E. C. Drury, secretary: I have a telegram here from the Niagara Fruit Growers. As I have said, they are not altogether in accord with what we are going to ask for in the matter of the tariff. But I would point out that they have not taken the proper steps to bring this matter before us. The Dominion Grange was open to all farmers and their delegates would have been welcomed there. If they had been there I am satisfied that we would have been able to show them that what we are asking for would not really be detrimental to their interests. They are not here today, but I have this telegram from them and I will read it.

"St. Catharines, Ont.

Dec. 15th, 1910.

Chairman Canadian Council of  
Agriculture,

Grand Opera House, Ottawa.

A large meeting of the Niagara Peninsula Fruit Growers' Association held in this city today, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, that whereas, the United States government have made overtures to this country for reciprocal trade relations, and, whereas, a large delegation of those interested in products of the soil is now in session at Ottawa with the object of petitioning the government for the removal or the substantial lowering of the tariff against United States products;

And, whereas, the tariff of the United States against Canadian products is in the aggregate greatly in excess against them, resulting in some cases to the detriment of the Canadian grower;

And, whereas, the present Canadian tariff has on the whole proved satisfactory to the upbuilding of our fruit industries and the same if continued will develop them to the advantage of the country as a whole;

Therefore, it is the opinion of this association that any reciprocal treaty with the United States be given the most serious consideration and that only done after consultation with the official representatives of our fruit industries, and that in regard to each and every other industry they should be consulted and their respective bearings upon each other be fully considered and that in the final adjustment of any tariff with the United States that all possible preference be given to the mother country.

(Sgd.) C. E. FISHER, Sec'y  
Niagara Peninsula Fruit Growers' Assn."

Mr. Drury:—The views set forth in this telegram differ from our resolution, but I think it is due to misapprehension. They appear to think that we desire

to open the markets of Canada to the producers of the United States without any compensating advantage being given to the producers on this side. They also seem to have the idea that there is going to be a reciprocal treaty entered into, but there is no such thing as a reciprocal treaty before this meeting or before the country.

## NEW BRUNSWICK INTERESTED

S. B. Hathaway, Fredericton, N.B.—  
I wish to thank those who have spoken before for expressing so well the sentiments I feel and which all the farmers of New Brunswick feel. I assure you the question of reciprocity is one in which the farmers of New Brunswick are deeply interested. The products of New Brunswick are hay, potatoes and turnips, and they are things that we require the United States market for. It is necessary for us to have these markets. We feel we are not under any obligation to the United States. For potatoes we have been forced to seek other markets and in that way it makes it impossible for the New Brunswick farmer to make a profit, but if we had the market of the United States we would be able to increase our production and our profit greatly. On hay we have to pay a duty of \$4 to get into the United States. We consider that any change in the tariff would be greatly of benefit to our farmers. I cannot say any more, except to thank you gentlemen for expressing our sentiments so well. A little has been done in raising this question, and that has been done in Quebec. At the same time when we came to the people who are deeply interested in protection we find it is necessary to revise the tariff to make the conditions what they used to be, and we know that whatever changes are made will be of tremendous benefit to the old province of New Brunswick. (Applause and cheering).

## ONTARIO FRUIT GROWERS

Jos. E. Johnston, Simcoe, Ont., Manager of the Norfolk Fruit Growers' Association:—Chairman and Gentlemen:—I am certainly very glad to meet with you here today. As I thought only a few moments ago, I don't think we meet often enough. You take the Ontario people here today; they talk over the subject of the Eastern and Western Provinces. About the only thing Johnston will say is he is an apple man. I may say about all I know is the appli-



business. I do know that we as apple growers here in the province of Ontario have not been justly dealt with and I think you will all agree with me when I explain to you my reason for saying so. At the present time if we wish to ship a barrel of apples into the United States market it is necessary that there is a duty paid of 75 cents per barrel. If the United States wishes to ship a barrel of apples into Canada they only have to pay a duty of 40 cents per barrel. Is that right? No. It is not justice that it should be that way. Now, we have got to be broad upon this subject. There may be certain sections in Ontario where they do not feel this duty. This is a broad subject. We must not be selfish in this way. We ask you as Westerners to co-operate with us in this connection in seeing that this duty is lowered down to an equal basis. As I said, the apple business is all I know about. I have been instrumental in my own little way in making up this association. This year we have produced five times as many apples as we did five years ago, and this year is a small crop year. We want to grow apples in Ontario to meet with the call in the West, and I am sure, as our brother stated, Nova Scotia is going to show you a great advance in the next few years, and the province of Ontario is going to show a great advancement, and the West is going to show great advancement, but we have got to co-operate together.

## DIRECT TAXATION

E. A. Partridge, Sintaluta, Sask.:—(Amid applause)—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen:—I want to express to you my heartfelt gratitude to you for the manner in which you have received me. I have been, to the best of my ability, for years trying to help the farmers in the West, and it does my heart good at this time to be received in the manner in which you have been pleased to receive me. I take it as a great honor to be permitted to address you. I believe that we have made tremendous strides in education, in knowledge, and I believe that one of the best proofs of this advance in knowledge is the reception we have given this free trade resolution at this time. Arguments are not necessary. It would be simply a waste of time for me to attempt to impress upon you what this means to us. However, I would like to be permitted to say something about the alternatives which would be forced upon us. In

trying to eliminate the revenue now derived from the customs we have got to find some other way for supporting our government. There is no doubt that this is their method of raising revenue for the country. Now, there is no excuse, it appears to me, for protection which is given to one at the expense of another. We do not wish to give protection to the strong at the expense of the weak. That is very undesirable.

I do not think it is necessary for me to make reference to protection any further than to enlarge a little upon the effect. It would appeal pretty strongly to the people who live upon the earnings of the farm, if they could add something to the comfort and enrichment of the lives of those who toil. We find that the employers are still in competition with the workmen, but we do not find that higher wages are paid. Assume that the effect of tariff is to raise the wages of the employees. Suppose a person to be employed in the manufacture of shoes, it is the employer who gets the protection and you pay more for the shoes, and even the employee, who makes the shoes, has to pay more for them. So he finds that the price of every article is raised, and though he gets higher wages, it will not go so far as the smaller wages. Supposing the government would lower our tariff, what would be the result? It appears to me the effect would be still beneficial. Our manufacturers would still find they were able to hold their own. In the first place it seems to me there has been a woeful commercialism. The manufacturer in other years was looking at it from the narrow standpoint. He said: If there is \$1 out of one loom, I can make \$2 out of two, and \$3 out of three, and so on without regard to the interest of trade, and he enlarges and enlarges as much as he can.

But if we examine the conditions in which we find them our manufacturers would be exposed to a hostile tariff from a foreign country and our own people be induced to tax themselves by way of a tariff on foreign goods. This then would mean that while our manufacturers would be at a disadvantage, his competitor would not sell goods at less than cost. If he did, he would not keep it up very long. If the manufacturers of other countries will persist in selling goods below that, I guess we can stand it as long as they can. We have raw materials in abundance, and our manufacturers have the advantage of the freight rates so they ought to be able to hold their own. On the other

hand, the workmen, who are employed in the protected country, must receive higher wages in order to pay for their living, while on this side if the wages paid by the manufacturers were lower, since everything came in in abundance, these smaller wages would go further, so that looking at it from every side we cannot see a shred of reason for protection and the tariff no matter what any other country may do, while in the case of reciprocity there is absolutely nothing but a fallacious argument that can be put up against us. I would like to speak just before sitting down for the alternatives that may be forced upon us by reason of free trade. How shall we raise this revenue? It was said by a celebrated statesman of Great Britain that by indirect taxation the people could be taxed to rags and then the rags could be taxed without complaint, because they did not know they were being taxed. That may have been all right at the time of that statement, but it does not apply to the intelligent people of Canada.

The alternative as I see it, and I only give it as a suggestion, and we have to educate ourselves along these lines and try to form public opinion so that when the time comes we may form our propositions along the line of equality. My opinion is that the proper way is to place it upon land values. When we speak of that some of the farmers seem to think that by that system the farmer would pay all the taxes and that the people in the cities would not pay anything, but I think it is proved by statistics that the farmers would suffer least. Suppose we examine a little into the conditions with respect to the taxation of land. In the city of Winnipeg, a city of very little over 100,000 people, it was found last year that apart from improvements and allowing for \$13,000,000 of exemptions, the assessment was \$118,000,000. Now let us see what would be the value of farm lands in Manitoba. It is generally assumed, of course, that all the land in the country is held by the farmers. I was going along the road, however, the other day with a farmer and we were passing a very nice looking piece of land. I asked him whose it was and he said: "Well, it belongs to me and the loan company, mostly the loan company." That represents the situation very closely. We might divide the land-owning class into the farmer and the land speculator. Another type is the landlord who simply rents out the land to others. Personally I have not any particular sympathy

with the landlord, but under present economic conditions that is about the only way in which the retired man can invest his money to secure a revenue. However, other economic conditions will arise. Then there is the tenant. He will not be exposed to this taxation. Then there are the persons who have purchased land on long payments and who only in a small degree own the land they have purchased, and these would only be taxed to that extent. But you will say there is that peculiarity about capitalism that the capitalist can always shift the burden of taxation so that the purchaser and the mortgagee would pay the taxation in the form of additional interest. Such conditions arose in the newer countries which accepted land values as the basis of taxation, in New Zealand, Australia, and they are popular governments, by the way, governments that are representative of the people. The government there advanced money at low rates of interest to the farmers in order that they might pay off the loans to the owners so that they would be placed on an equitable footing. If taxation were based upon land values we should find that the citizens of Winnipeg would pay at least one-half the taxation of that province, that is to say that the farmers would only pay a reasonable amount of the taxes. And when we come to the provinces which have natural resources such as timber and minerals, these things would also be made to bear some of the taxation, so that the farmer would not be unduly taxed. And that would break a most malicious system by which men often get monopolies of God's bounties, often by grants from governments. That kind of thing has got to be eliminated some time or other. You farmers, if you were to get into an advanced economic condition so that you would get a rich revenue from the things you sell, what would be the practical result so long as these natural resources would be in the hands of monopoly? It would simply mean that by joining hands they would be able to artificially raise the price of commodities, tariff or no tariff. They would simply say to themselves: "These men have one or two hundred dollars a year more, and now it is up to us to put prices up to the point where we may take that money which would otherwise have gone to enrich the lives of the farming community." I want to put the entering wedge into the thought of these fundamental principles so that we may in the future be able to evolve a better system of taxation. (Applause)

# FARMERS' MEMORIALS

## Copies of Addresses and Resolutions Presented to the Dominion Government

NOTE—At 10.10 a.m. on December 16, 1910, the presentation of the farmers' case to Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the members of his government and the members of the House of Commons began. Sir Wilfrid occupied the chair of the Clerk of the House, and at his left sat Sir Richard Cartwright. At the premier's right sat D. W. McCuaig, E. C. Drury and R. McKenzie. Mr. McCuaig introduced the delegation, read the various resolutions and called upon the various speakers to support them.

In opening the meeting Mr. McCuaig spoke as follows:

Right Honorable Sir Wilfrid Laurier,  
Premier of Canada—

I am here this morning as President of the Canadian Council of Agriculture. We have met on this occasion, Sir Wilfrid to present some of our views to you and to your government. We have met as a delegation representing the different provinces of the Dominion of Canada. We have in this organization, the Canadian Council of Agriculture, the different farmers' organizations throughout the Dominion of Canada. We have representatives here today from New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta. I think you will agree with me, Sir, that it is something out of the usual. You have no doubt in the past received many delegations from year to year, but I think I am quite safe in saying that this is the first organized delegation that you have received from the farmers of the Dominion of Canada. We have met to present to you some of those requests that we have to make to your government. I might say that if you will look around and see the delegation that we have here you will see a large number of men who have come here at this time at great expense and in many cases with a great deal of inconvenience. But we felt justified in incurring this expense and this inconvenience to show you, Sir, that we are in earnest in our requests; that we have been willing to incur this inconvenience and this expense to show you and your government that we are in earnest in what we are asking. Seeing

that we have a limited time at our disposal to place all these matters before you, it would be rather out of place for me to take up any of your valuable time. I have, however, to thank you, Sir, for this opportunity for the organized farmers of Canada to meet you in this manner and to be able to present these things to you.

### Terminal Elevators

The first matter that we wish to call your attention to this morning is in regard to the terminal elevators that are handling our grain from the West. I will read to you a resolution that is provided by the Canadian Council of Agriculture and submitted yesterday to a mass meeting of all the delegates here. We presented all these resolutions to all the delegates at that mass meeting and without a dissenting voice they have assented to those resolutions. We have them now in order, signed by the President and Secretary of the Council to show you the united voice of the farmers from Nova Scotia to Alberta. This resolution is as follows:

### Resolution

Whereas we are convinced that terminal elevators as now operated are detrimental to the interests of both the producer and consumer, as proved by recent investigation and testimony of important interested bodies, we therefore request that the Dominion government acquire and operate as a public utility under an independent commission the terminal elevators of Fort William and Port Arthur, and immedi-

ately establish similar terminal facilities and conditions at the Pacific coast, and provide the same at Hudson's Bay

when necessary; also such transfer and other elevators necessary to safeguard the quality of export grain."

In support of this I will now call upon Mr. Peter Wright, from Myrtle, Manitoba, a Director of the Manitoba Grain Growers' Association; a Member of the Executive of the Manitoba Grain Growers' Association and of the Canadian Council of Agriculture.

## Mr. Wright's Address

To the Right Honorable Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Prime Minister of Canada; the Members of the Government and the Members of the House of Commons—

The matter with which I have been entrusted in behalf of the farmers of the West is that pertaining to the terminal elevators. We have already submitted this matter to the Honorable, the premier, and some other members of the government who accompanied the premier when on his Western tour during the past summer, and we would not insult these gentlemen by inferring that they do not understand all about the matter, or that they are not convinced that the request of the Western farmers with respect to the terminal elevators is only right and just, but we are aware to secure the legislation we believe to be necessary, the majority of this house must be convinced of the justice of our request, and that is the reason why we are here today; so we hope, sir, that you and those who are familiar with this matter will bear with us while we present some statements and arguments bearing on the terminal elevator situation.

### Finest Wheat In World

The principal marketable production of the Western farmer is wheat, and the quality of our climate and soil is such that we have acquired the reputation of producing the finest wheat in the world, and in such vast and ever increasing quantities that Western Canada has been called "The Granary of the British Empire." In its progress to the markets of the world all Western wheat must pass through the terminal elevators at Fort William or Port Arthur. Considerable mystery and secrecy has always surrounded the terminal elevators and their operation, but the farmers of the West have been for a long time convinced that their grain in passing through these elevators has been subjected to a system of manipulation

and exploitation which, while tending to augment the profits of the elevator companies, has had the effect of depreciating very largely the value, the price and the reputation of our wheat.

### Re Manipulation

As we wish to be absolutely fair in our statements, we would say that the C.P.R. terminals have never been charged with indulging in this manipulation, and there may be other exceptions, but the exception strongly confirms our conviction, as the Eastern millers tell us that wheat obtained through the C.P.R. terminals is worth considerably more for milling purposes than that of the same grade obtained through privately owned or operated houses.

The grain trade is regulated by the "Manitoba Grain Act" and the "Grain Inspection Act." These acts provide that "all grains passing through Winnipeg inspection district to points East thereof shall be graded according to quality." It is further provided that "All grain shipped for Eastern points from any public elevator within the division shall be shipped only as graded into such elevators by the inspecting officer." All grain of the same grade shall be kept together, and stored only with grain of a similar grade; and even a selection of the different qualities of the same grade is prohibited. "If grain of different grades is loaded together in the same compartment of a vessel, a certificate of such mixed cargo shall be issued with a statement of the quantities of each grade entering into the composition of such mixed cargo." And "the certificate of inspection given by inspecting officers shall in all cases accompany the grain to its destination."

### Inspectors of No Avail

But, notwithstanding these regulations, and the fact also that the terminal elevators are under the supervision

of a large body of government officials, we believe that the owners and operators of these elevators find means and opportunities to manipulate our grain to their advantage and to our disadvantage. In support of this belief we have the evidence already quoted that grain produced through the C.P.R. terminals is of higher milling quality than that obtained through some others. But the most convincing evidence is that afforded by the investigation made by the officials of this government during last winter, which resulted in three terminal elevator companies being convicted of having made false returns regarding the amounts of wheat contained in the different grades, and their being fined to the amount of \$5,500. According to the report of Mr. Castle, warehouse commissioner, of this investigation, the surplus of 1 Northern wheat over the amount received of that grade by two elevators amounted to 1,035,786 bushels, while the shortage in 2 Northern wheat, 3 Northern and No. 4 Northern amounted to 832,806 bushels, leaving nearly 203,000 bushels of No. 1 Northern still unaccounted for, and to which I will refer later. A computation based on these figures and on the prices of the different grades of wheat on a certain date, and the spread between these prices, shows that the profits of these two elevator companies were increased by this manipulation to the extent of \$35,000. And in this connection we would respectfully submit that the punishment imposed is altogether inadequate to the enormity of the offence, and not likely to prove a deterrent from a continuance of these practices when, after deducting the amount of the fines, they still have a profit in the neighborhood of \$30,000, and that for a period of only about three months' operation.

#### Another Aspect

But there is another aspect to this matter which is a good deal more serious than any illegitimate profits made and which has a far-reaching effect. The government inspector is supposed to grade our wheat according to the amount of gluten and other ingredients it contains, which is required to make the best flour, and the value of our different grades of wheat is based on the presence or otherwise of these ingredients, or, as it is commonly spoken of, "The value of our wheat depends on its milling qualities," but it depends on its qualities not as it is inspected at Winnipeg, but on its qualities as it is placed on the British or

the ultimate markets, wherever they may be. And if, as has been proved, each grade of our wheat is brought down to the lowest point by the mixing of wheat of lower grades (and we believe it is often brought below it, that is, it is allowed to pass out of the terminal elevators with the minimum point of each grade lower than it would be allowed to pass the inspector at Winnipeg), if this is so it will be readily understood that the value and the reputation of our wheat on the British market is re-graded also; and as the British miller can only afford to pay for wheat according to its milling value, the price is reduced, and being reported back to us, becomes the basis of our market here, and we have to accept a price based on the lowest point of each grade instead of on the average as it should be, which means a difference of about two cents per bushel.

#### Only One Means

But we have reason to believe that the manipulation of grades is only one of the means used by these elevator companies to swell their revenue and by which our wheat is degraded in value and reputation. The "Grain Act" provides that all grain passing through the terminal elevator shall be cleaned. The amount of dockage is set by the inspector, and the percentage named by him is deducted from each car; and as the grade very often depends upon the amount of dockage, it is very important, if justice is to be done, that the inspector's instructions in this respect should be strictly carried out. Now, we have reason to believe that much of the wheat passing through the terminals is not cleaned to grade. No doubt there are large quantities of screenings cleaned out, and we know that large profits are derived from this source. We notice in the public papers recently that shipments of these screenings had been made to points in the United States, and we know also that large flocks of sheep have been fed from screenings taken from our wheat; but besides this, we believe that when the dockage imposed by the inspector is not too heavy, it is allowed to go through as they receive it. It is generally understood that when the dockage does not exceed 1 per cent. or in some cases 2 per cent, there is enough clean wheat to absorb that amount without being noticed, but for every 60 pounds of screenings allowed to pass through in this way the elevator companies get paid for a bushel of wheat. They get paid for the dockage which the farmer loses and has

to pay freight on to the terminals, and in consequence the British miller has to pay for these screenings at the price of wheat, and in this way the value and reputation of our wheat is still further degraded. And I believe that the fact that a portion of the screenings is in this way allowed to figure as wheat will to some extent account for the discrepancy between the overplus in No. 1 Northern and the shortage in the lower grades as per Mr. Castle's report already referred to.

#### Other W heats Sell Higher

We have been led to believe that Western Canada produced the best wheat in the world, and we have been very proud of our reputation in this respect. But we have noticed during the last two years that at certain periods there were other wheats which have commanded higher prices on the Liverpool market, and we believe this may be largely accounted for by the degrading of our wheat in the terminal elevators to the minimum point, and the retention in it of dockage, as I have described.

But there is still another breach of trust of which we believe these elevator companies are guilty. It seems that they are in the habit of loaning quantities of our wheat which has been entrusted to their care, to shippers to make out their cargoes. One of the companies involved in the investigation already mentioned pleaded guilty to this charge in trying to account for the discrepancy in the lower grades of wheat. Now we believe that this is a violation of both the letter and the spirit of the "Grain Act." Farmers are sometimes compelled by circumstances to ship grain when they would rather hold it. Some of us have not granary room, or we may have to haul it out when roads are good or weather suitable. Having shipped from our local shipping point, we sometimes discover that prices have dropped below what we care to sell at, and we decide to hold till a rise in price. Well, we may think we are holding it, and we are being charged storage for it, and possibly we may get a rise in prices, but all the while our wheat may be helping to flood the Old Country markets and defeating the purpose for which we wished to hold it.

#### Change Long Needed

The Grain Growers' Associations of the West have for over three years been trying to convince this govern-

ment of the necessity of some change in the method of operating these elevators, so as to remove the evils which exist in this connection, but up to the present time you have only responded by granting increased supervision and inspection; and while we give you credit for being sincere in your efforts to better conditions, we believe, and we say this without any reflection on any officials of the government, that no amount of supervision or inspection can effectually prevent manipulation in our terminals so long as they are owned and operated by private interests which can be benefitted thereby. We believe that nothing short of government ownership and operation will put a stop to these mal-practices and ensure to us that justice and straight dealing which will lift our terminal elevators from the position of distrust and suspicion which they have occupied and restore in them a feeling of trust and confidence in the minds of the Western farmers.

We would therefore recommend that the Dominion government take steps to acquire and operate the terminal elevators as a public utility. And we would further recommend that they be placed in charge of a commission of capable and reliable men who shall be independent of government control; governed by statute rather than by any minister of the government; answerable to a majority of the parliament, and so incorporated that they shall be capable of suing and being sued. Now, it is not from lack of confidence in the present government that we ask for these provisions, but to safeguard our terminal elevator system and the interests of all parties concerned for all time against any government or member of a government who might desire to use this system for their own or party ends and interests; and specially to safeguard against the system being injured or discredited by misconstructions and imputations made against the motives and actions of the government in power by the opposition, whichever party may be in power, and whichever party may be in opposition, human nature being what it is, these misconstructions and imputations will be made wherever there is the smallest visible motive for wrong-doing, even if no wrong is done, and will always gain more or less credence.

#### Millers Not Satisfied

Farmers are not alone in making these requests. Eastern millers are not satisfied with conditions as they are,

and would welcome the change. A large number of commission men, independent grain dealers and exporters of Winnipeg, Toronto and Montreal, have also made the same request, indeed all parties concerned, with the exception of the owners and operators of these elevators, join with us in making this recommendation.

In asking the government to take over and operate the terminal elevators we do not consider that we are seeking a favor of any sort; we only want a square deal. The "Inspection Act" insofar as it applies to the farmer, has been rigidly enforced, and we make no complaint in that respect; but however good the intentions of the government and its officials have been, they have failed to enforce the law in protection of his interests in the terminal elevators.

We do not expect that these elevators under the system we suggest shall become chargeable to the consolidated revenue of the Dominion. Our wheat has always had to pay its way, and as we believe and have tried to show, has paid a considerable amount of undue toll, and we are willing that it should continue to pay its way, that a sufficient charge should be made to pay for the operation of the elevators, and to pay off the purchase price within a reasonable time. We are of the opinion that the charges in the elevators at the lake front are too high at the present time, being considerably higher than those of elevators on the other side of the lakes. But we would not ask for a reduction until sufficient time has elapsed to show by practical experience what charge is necessary to cover all expenses.

#### Officials Could Be Used

We understand that at the present time there is a large staff of government officials employed in supervising the operation of the elevators who, if our recommendation was adopted, could be employed in the actual operation, and a considerable saving would be effected by thus avoiding the duplication of employees.

It has been suggested that a change in our laws to make our terminal elevators conform to those at Duluth would meet all the objections that have been made to the manner in which they are operated at present. The only difference between our terminal elevators and those operated under the Minnesota law is that under the Minnesota law private elevators are allowed to operate and

that special binning is permitted in the state elevators. Such a condition of affairs in our terminals would accentuate rather than alleviate the conditions that exist. The president of the North Dakota State Union of the Society of Equity, one of the largest farmers' organizations in the grain producing States, says of the Minnesota terminals: "Our system of terminals is simply owned and controlled by the interests and we have nothing to say in the matter. To give you a little idea as to the loss sustained I might say that we are shipping our grain with foul seeds and mixed grains because facilities are not at hand for separating same to the terminals and pay the freight on all the foul seeds of oats or flax that may be in the wheat and then we give them all but that grain in the name of which it is shipped." Again he says: "They buy our hard wheat at from No. 1 to No. 4, mix same with the wheat from the Southern or Eastern States, which is much inferior to ours, and after it is mixed the records show that they ship out more No. 1 than they took in." It is quite evident that a change to this condition would not improve matters for us.

#### Applies to Others

All we have said in regard to the elevators at Fort William and Port Arthur applies equally to elevators that must be constructed in the near future at Hudson's Bay and particularly at Pacific coast terminals. The reasons are even more urgent in respect to Pacific coast than have been advanced for acquiring those at Fort William and Port Arthur. The reasonable and logical way for the grain produced in Alberta and even in the western portion of Saskatchewan to find its market is via what has been termed the "Western route." The Western development that is bound to take place in British Columbia in the next decade assures us that a very large portion of the farm products of Alberta will find a market in this province. The completion of the Panama Canal and also the erection of proper facilities on the Tehuantepec Railway which is bound to come means that a great deal of our Western Canadian grain will find its European market via the Pacific coast. The Pacific coast has open ports all the year. There is good reason for believing that an effort is being made at the present time to create Terminal Elevator companies at Vancouver which promises even worse conditions than exist at Port Arthur today. It is the imperative duty



of the government to prevent this by taking immediate steps to provide the necessary facilities for the handling of grain at the Pacific coast in such a way that the smallest dealer and the largest elevator owner are upon an equality in the advantages they can secure from it. There is no reason whatever for permitting a condition of things to grow up in Vancouver that will be worse in effect than what we have been complaining of in the Eastern route to our markets.

Western Canada has been contributing largely to the needs of the world in supplying it with the "staff of life," and in that way has been adding materially to the wealth and prosperity of Canada; but while the West produces great wealth in the shape of food prod-

ucts, it has as yet very few manufacturing industries, and we look principally to the East for our supply of manufactured articles. So that, whatever you can do to secure the Western farmer a square deal, increases his purchasing power and will benefit and increase the prosperity of the East as

well as the West.

We hope we have shown sufficient cause why this government should accede to the request of the Western Grain Growers' Associations, and we respectfully urge that during the present session of parliament a measure of legislation be passed providing that the Terminal Elevators be acquired and operated by the Dominion government under an independent commission.

D. W. McCuaig:—The next I will call on is Mr. F. W. Green, Secretary of the Saskatchewan Grain Growers' Association, and also a member of the Canadian Council of Agriculture.

## Mr. Green's Address

Mr. Green:—To the Right Honorable Sir Wilfrid Laurier Prime Minister of Canada; the Members of the Government, and the Members of the House of Commons—

In speaking to the resolution let me say that the part of this delegation that I have the honor to represent is known as The Saskatchewan Grain Growers' Association. This association was organized on January 2nd, 1909, Honorable W. R. Motherwell, now minister of agriculture for Saskatchewan, occupied the chair. The then deputy minister of agriculture, Mr. C. W. Peterson, also took an active part and in an address to the farmers said:

"Combination is the watchword of the day. The various corporations against which the Grain Growers were pitted had the most complete organization in the world, and before farmers could make any headway they would have to follow the example of their rivals and present their claims as an organized body."

Senator Perley, R. S. Lake and Hon. Walter Scott were also prominent actors at the early meetings of this association. The constitution provided that its objects should be:

(a) To forward the interest of the Grain Growers in every honorable and legitimate way;

(b) To watch legislation relating to the Grain Growers' interests, particularly that affecting the marketing, grading and transportation of grain;

(c) To suggest to parliament from time to time as is found necessary through duly appointed delegates the passing of any new legislation to meet changing conditions and requirements.

It will thus be seen, gentlemen, that this delegation is right in line with the objects for which the Association was formed.

### Membership Growing

The Saskatchewan Association at the present time numbers 10,000 members in good standing, working in some three hundred local associations in almost every part of the province with almost an equal number in each of the other Western provinces where the various questions brought forward have been discussed freely during the ten years of the association's existence. The terminal elevator question is only one of the many phases in the grain trade, which is very difficult for the ordinary farmer to thoroughly understand.

We have the interior elevator system with all the uncertainty of weight and grade, and the various tricks resorted to regarding car distribution, special binning and shipping; then we have the grain exchanges with the gambling, price-fixing, problem-hedging, future selling, puts and calls, shorts and longs, with the bulls and bears. Then the difference of prices between Minneapolis and Winnipeg, ranging from ten to fifteen cents per bushel for an inferior sample of wheat. This



with their system of grading and sampling all forming part of a complex system more or less mysterious to our farmers, causing a serious state of suspicion and unrest which is an evil in itself, but none of these are responsible for more distrust and want of confidence than the inspection system in connection with our terminal elevators.

All these being inseparable each effected by the other, and as we think vitally affecting the quality and price of every bushel of grain grown in the West. Our views, right or wrong, are the cause of our agitation and action.

### Government Well Informed

Doubtless the government has already in their possession much more convincing arguments than we can offer in support of the resolution, as the warehouse commissioner's report will likely contain information and data impossible for us at this time to present. We can only say this: "That nothing now can possibly allay our fears but the complete removal of all parties having a special interest in the grain in the public bins of the nation from their operation and control." I said: "Public bins of the nation." This is what we think these terminal elevators become when the government admits the grain into these bins and gives the farmer a receipt and guarantees to deliver it to his customer under a certificate of grade, and any system which gives to a self-interested party the opportunity for tampering with this grain after once passing into the hands of the government, as we believe the present one does, cannot longer be tolerated by us.

As our grain passes Winnipeg it is inspected and ordered to be cleaned to a certain specified standard or ideal. Foreign matters considered useless for the purposes for which the different grades are intended are ordered to be extracted. The farmer being docked for it pays freight and delivers it to the terminal elevators absolutely free. If by any means these grades inspected leaving the terminals contain one per cent. of the dirt previously ordered to be taken out someone is 1,000,000 bushels in weight ahead; if two per cent. is left in they are 2,000,000 bushels ahead. If the grain is worth one dollar per bushel it is a prize worth striving for.

There are approximately some 100,000,000 bushels per annum delivered thus to the terminal elevators at Fort William and Port Arthur, having a dockage varying from nothing to twenty-five per cent

### Pay By Quality

The English buyer receiving this grain will pay just what it is worth to him as he receives it. Buying by certificate his price is based upon previous experience

and receipts under the same class of document. If the commodity contains two per cent. of dirt on a base price of \$1.00 per bushel of clean grain, he says: "There is two per cent of dirt in this. It is only worth 98 cents to me. It will cost me one cent per bushel to extract it and fit it for my rolls, so it is only worth to me 97 cents." This becomes the base price of Canadian wheat which becomes the price for the whole of Western Canada and is three cents per bushel lower than it would be if the grain reached England in accordance with the ideal on which it was inspected when taken from the farmer by the government, or \$3,000,000 on the total; \$2,000,000 of this loss would go into the pockets of the terminal elevator men, the balance to pay for the extraction of the dirt in England, and for which the Canadian farmer has already paid the terminal elevator men at Fort William and Port Arthur. The terminal elevator man does not stop here, however, as there is a spread of about three cents between the grades. As he receives it he has the opportunity if so inclined, to secure to himself the difference between the average value of the grade and the minimum quality admitted into it. Supposing No. 1 to be composed of all wheat valued at 97 cents to \$1.00, the average wheat value would therefore be 98½ cents. If 97-cent wheat is legally admitted into that grade going into the public bins the elevator man assumes that it may be legally delivered out of the bins; if perchance he can get it out and get it accepted as satisfactory, all being 97-cent wheat, which is a perfectly legitimate grade according to the standard established by the Grain Act, and which the British buyer could be compelled to take on certificate under which authority the grain was placed in the public bins; consequently perfectly legal and up to the contract called for by the inspection certificate. If the elevator man can accomplish this he is a further 1½ cent per bushel ahead; or \$1,500,000 on the total output by this trimming from the average to the minimum quality allowed in the grade. The English buyer bases his price on the quality received under the inspection certification and gives exactly what it is worth to him, being a cent and a half per bushel less than it would be if it went forward fully up to the average. This, added to the previously mentioned 3 cents per bushel, makes a total of 4½ cents per bushel reduction in the value of the grain. It may be objected that this would not be an average grade—no, but a perfectly legal one, and the chief inspector in sending forward his standard sample to England would not be likely to send one higher than any grain that could be called a legal

tender under the specified contract in the Grain Act; in fact, he has said he does not.

### Temptations Exist

Our contention, therefore, is that this opportunity and possibility exist, not only for the deterioration of the intrinsic value of our grade but for the retention of considerable foreign matter, making a difference between the ideal of inspection as delivered to the terminals and the actual condition it is in when it reaches the British miller, amounting to the  $4\frac{1}{2}$  cents per bushel as previously stated, and vitally effects the price of every bushel of grain sold in the West. The question naturally arises, if this opportunity is offered by our system will the elevator operators really take advantage of it? Do they really do it? Are they so much inherently better than other men that they are above such things? In evidence taken before the Saskatchewan elevator commission this summer, the managers of different institutions declared that they would, and averred that they would be very foolish if they did not.

A certain manager of an elevator company said to us that a dealer would certainly take advantage of a farmer if he could, but he could not do it, he said, as the farmer was too wide-awake for him; but the farmer believes quite differently regarding the latter part of the statement, the farmer being perfectly helpless in this matter.

### Mixing A Science

In the United States there are now very many more private terminal elevators than there are public terminal elevators. This is true of Minneapolis, Chicago and Kansas City, where they have sample markets established, and the trade of mixing, trimming and skinning is worked into a regular science. This summer while interviewing several managers of these large firms, they told us of the skill and perfection attained by their men in mixing grain at these private terminals, and the money they made at it. The corporations having control of some of the largest of these mixing plants in the United States now control and operate mostly all the terminal elevators and facilities at Fort William and Port Arthur, possessing the most thorough understanding of the mixing art.

The opportunity to carry on the business is there and they say they will do it if permitted. They have been fined heavily already for doing so, and they doubtless have done thousands of things they were not fined for. The fine was not returned to the people they robbed,

neither was the fine at all commensurate with the plunderings carried on.

Mr. Horn has declared, as well as Mr. Castle, that the grain trade of Western Canada is now in the hands of large American operators, the inspection department at Fort William also declared that they were unable to cope with these men and that inspection does not inspect; that there seems little use in setting a sixty-five dollar per month inspector to watch a one hundred and twenty-five dollar a month manipulator. Will they take advantage of such an open door?

### The Millers' Schemes

There is another source of creaming going on after inspection, while not done in the terminals it vitally affects the output. I refer to our Western milling industry. The manager of one of these large concerns in evidence to the Saskatchewan elevator commission indicated that they took care to place their elevators at points where wheat of the highest milling value was produced. Besides this they would buy large blocks of wheat from commission men and small elevator companies which would be billed to their mills. Their expert would then open a car, make selections of the best for their purposes and send the rest forward to the terminals. This was not done from a sample but the expert had the whole car before him and the graphic words of the witness were: "He would be a jack if he did not keep the best." We do not dispute this with him. Our point is the opportunity is there and they will take advantage of whatever opportunity offers. This certainly gives them an advantage of from one to two cents per bushel, the farmer being robbed of it, and the total output from the public bins deteriorated to that extent. Will they take advantage of such an open door?

Hon. G. H. V. Bulyea, speaking in the first annual meeting of this association in 1902, said: "At Regina recently grain dealers were paying fifty cents per bushel for wheat worth  $75\frac{1}{4}$  cents at Fort William." The freight rate with elevator charges amounted to  $11\frac{1}{2}$  cents, therefore, the wheat should be worth at Regina  $63\frac{3}{4}$  cents, leaving  $13\frac{3}{4}$  cents for the dealer which the honorable gentleman said "was simply robbing the farmers." Evidently at that time they would if they could, and they did.

### Legislature Approves

About this time at a meeting in which R. S. Lake and Senator Perley were present, the Hon. Walter Scott was called upon to speak, and said in part that "he

had reviewed the grain situation in parliament last year and had pointed out how farmers in the West had suffered from undue discrimination on the part of the grain dealers. These men," he said, "had made flat denials, but he would be thoroughly prepared for them this year." He further said that the base of the trouble he thought was in the transportation and resolutions could not be made too strong, in fact, they should be dipped in vitrol. If these words had any justification at that time, what significance has this demonstration for this parliament who have been so repeatedly appealed to on this inspection and permanent elevator question. Resolutions have been passed and representations made to the Dominion government at every recurring annual meeting of this association, culminating in this monster demonstration. The legislature of Saskatchewan on December 14th, 1909, passed the following resolution:

"Whereas, this house is of the opinion that under existing conditions both interior and terminal elevators being private and identical interests operate to the disadvantage of the Grain Growers of Saskatchewan;

"Therefore, be it resolved, that in the opinion of this house the government of Canada should own and operate the terminal elevators."

#### Mr. Sifton's Words

In 1903, Hon Clifford Sifton speaking to the grain dealers in Winnipeg, said: "Farmers are entitled to as much consideration as grain dealers. When a producer comes to parliament and says: 'I have produced a commodity and I object to it passing through the hands of a set of middlemen who take from it an undue toll,' I say to you, and I say plainly, that no parliament in Canada can afford to disregard such a protest."

Hon. members of this House, today the producers are here at the parliament of Canada, making that statement in the strongest possible way they know how, and we commend to you the wisdom of the honorable gentleman's remarks: "No parliament can afford to disregard such a protest."

This delegation is tired of this manipulation, they want it stopped, and stopped without further delay. We are told it is a herculean task, that it will be opposed by all the wealth and influence of the powerful corporations interested. We do not deny it, we expect it.

What can this parliament do for this delegation? What can this delegation do for this parliament?

Some four years ago a delegation of ours was interviewing one of your ministers on this matter and that honorable

gentleman informed them that though it was a big problem he would sooner spend a few millions on this matter than in the purchase of battleships and fortifications.

#### Land Pirates

Gentlemen, this delegation is thoroughly loyal to our country, and empire, and we do not wish to lose or weaken in any particular our proud position on the seas, but we earnestly desire to be protected from positive pillaging invaders on the land before we sail out in iron-clads to catch possible plunderers on far-distant seas.

Let me in closing refer to the vast aggregate of invested capital represented by this delegation; each member of the Western part of it we estimate has a half-section of land valued with its equipment at at least \$10,000. There are 30,000 in our Western organizations, which means an investment of \$300,000,000. If, as our friendly rivals declare, we are only twenty-five per cent. of the Western farmers, we would represent the enormous aggregate of \$1,200,000,000, and we think we may fairly claim to be the articulate mouth-piece of the whole.

Now, we think conditions should be so that this enormous capital invested should earn interest as well as the capital invested in other industries which under present conditions is, we think, impossible.

We have heard the resolutions read and discussed which are to be presented here regarding the Hudson's Bay Railway, the Railway Act, the tariff and chilled meat industry, and with all of them we concur.

If these recommendations are adopted and put into practice we believe that a step will have been taken towards bringing about that happy time when the agricultural industry will be more remunerative; that the business of farming will be more attractive, and the unnatural drain from the rural communities, towards the cities will be stopped and rural life become a little heaven to leaven the whole lump of the Canadian nation, which we believe, is destined to lead the world in the solution of Twentieth Century problems.

#### Dr. Chisholm's Query

Dr. T. Chisholm, M.P., East Huron:—Mr. Green could make his case very much stronger if he could give us some documentary evidence and also produce some samples of grain in support of what he has said, and to show the difference in prices between the United States and Canada and also the differ-

ence of standards. If he could do that his case would be invincible. Of course as members of parliament we need some evidence which is indisputable. I am very pleased with the presentation he has made.

D. W. McCuaig:—I will next call on Mr. W. J. Tregillus, vice-president of the United Farmers of Alberta, and a member of the Canadian Council of Agriculture.

## Mr. Tregillus' Address

Mr. Tregillus:—To the Right Honorable Sir Wilfrid Laurier Prime Minister of Canada, the Members of the Government, and the Members of the House of Commons—

In presenting a third report on the elevator question it is not our intention to go into the matter deeply, believing the arguments which have been presented by the other members of this council are irrefutable; we desire, however, to lay further special emphasis on the great need for terminal facilities being provided at the Pacific coast which will allow the Alberta farmers to get their grain to the world's markets by the cheapest possible route.

Situated as Alberta is, such a great distance from lake ports, our grain growers have been seriously handicapped since entering the business by the heavy hauling charges entailed in getting their products to the water front, and if our rich soils had been less productive they would have been unable to make a living from growing grain.

Unfortunately much of our land has been under cultivation for several years and is therefore losing some of its virgin fertility, so that we cannot count on the large average yields in the future to which we have been accustomed in the past. Considering this fact and also that the factor determining the freight charges is the length of the haul, is it to be wondered at that we have been casting longing eyes upon the year-open ports of the Pacific coast?

### No Coast Facilities

In spite of the fact that there are no facilities on the Pacific coast for economically handling grain, much of Alberta's surplus is already going in that direction. With terminal facilities not only would Alberta's grain, but a large proportion from Western Saskatchewan would also go that way.

F. W. Green:—The Prime Minister has invited our executive to meet him and to discuss this question, and at that interview we shall, I believe, be able to substantiate every statement which we have made. (Hear, hear).

We have in Alberta assisted for years in the fight for government ownership of all terminal facilities, because the abuses as practised by the terminal operators have affected us as deeply as those producing grain to the east of us.

It was in 1906 when the first demand was made for terminal facilities at the Pacific coast, and this demand culminated in a deputation waiting on your government in April, 1909, asking for terminal accommodation there.

This deputation was given to understand that if the officers of your government connected with the grain trade were convinced that such was necessary the matter would be taken into consideration.

### Proof Sufficient

Since that time events have transpired and evidence has been acquired by your officers which shows that there is no possibility of the grain trade being placed upon a stable foundation unless all terminal facilities are owned and operated by the government as a public utility.

Having further regard to the Western terminals we would point out that at the present time there are no obstacles in the way of government ownership, the path is perfectly clear for immediate action of the government, and the farmers of Western Canada are anxiously waiting for these facilities to be provided.

It is true that private interests and interests connected with the grain trade are willing to launch upon this business; in fact it is understood that terminal sites are being procured by some of them. If the government acts promptly in this matter there will be no need for purchasing vested interests from any company upon the Pacific coast, and for this reason we wish to especially press this matter upon your attention at this time.

### Make Calgary Order Point

A further reason for the establishment of terminals at the Pacific coast is that because of the lack of these there is now no market for certain grades of grain and frequently cars of grain consigned to the coast are found, on inspection at Calgary, to be unsuitable for that market, and have to be re-billed to Fort William or Port Arthur, and owing to the fact that Calgary not being an order point, the railway company are enabled to make extra charges, adding considerable expense to the shipper.

D. W. McCuaig.—I am now going to call upon Mr. D. B. Wood, of Hamilton, President of the Dominion Millers' Association.

## Mr. Woods' Address

D. B. Wood said:—Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Gentlemen—

Before proceeding with the remarks laid out for me to make I desire to congratulate the Grain Growers' Association on the able and reasonable presentation which has been made of this case up to the present time. I desire also on behalf of the Dominion Millers' Association to express our appreciation of the courtesy of the government in allowing us to come here and present our views on this very important matter.

As president of the Dominion Millers' Association and making the representations I do to you today in support of the resolution presented by Mr. McCuaig for the Grain Growers, I represent not only all the millers in Ontario and Quebec east of the Great Lakes, excepting perhaps the Ogilvie Milling Company and the Quaker Oats Company, who have their own terminals at Fort William, but also the consumers of Manitoba grain abroad, as their interests are identical with ours.

On the 1st of September last at our regular annual meeting the following resolution was carried without a dissenting voice, a copy of which I now hand you:

"Whereas the fining of the three terminal elevators at Fort William and Port Arthur last spring for mixing and otherwise handling grain contrary to the law shows that it is impossible as long as these elevators are operated by private interests to prevent these and similar nefarious practices, notwith-

We trust we have made it quite clear to you that the question of terminal elevators is one of greatest moment to the farmers of Western Canada, the solving of which would mean a great deal to them. We are absolutely unanimous on this question, and believe the only remedy is government ownership, and we sincerely trust that you can give us the definite pronouncement that your government will immediately introduce legislation for the government ownership of all terminal elevators.

standing the most stringent regulations and every effort being made to enforce them.

"Therefore be it resolved that the Dominion Millers' Association in annual meeting assembled respectfully request and urge the Dominion government without further delay to acquire and operate the terminal elevators at Fort William and Port Arthur as the only means of placing all shippers through these public terminals on a fair and equal basis and prevent a large portion of the business of the Ontario mills and the grain export business of Western Canada from being destroyed for the benefit of a few private corporations operating the public terminal elevators at Fort William and Port Arthur."

### Milling Business Suffers

We have over 300 mills scattered throughout Ontario east of the Great Lakes with a capacity to manufacture over 42,000 barrels of flour per day and which all must have Manitoba wheat. The business of these mills both local and export is suffering from the flagrant and wilful violations of the law of which the terminal elevator companies at Fort William and Port Arthur have been proved guilty. It is true three of them have been fined \$5,000, but as they could easily make eight or ten times that amount in manipulating the grain as they did, according to Commissioner Castle's report, a fine of this sort will not likely discourage them. We may note here that advices from Winnipeg this week state that Commissioner Castle has entered an

action against another of the terminal elevator companies.

Every interest connected with the grain trade, the farmers, the dealers, the millers and the exporters, has asked the government to take over and operate these elevators. Why should all these interests with millions of dollars invested in their various businesses be milched for the benefit of a few selfish corporations who defy the law and destroy the public confidence in the grades of Manitoba wheat both at home and abroad as inspected by the Dominion inspector.

#### A Paying Proposition

The proposition which we bring before you is a unique one. The Dominion government is asked year by year to vote millions of money for projects worthy as they may be from which they receive no direct return, such as bonuses to railways, etc. But in this case we are asking the government to spend eight or ten million dollars in purchasing property which will today not only pay interest and sinking fund, but good dividends as well, with a steady increase in revenue year by year resulting from the ever-increasing crops.

#### Enormous Capacity

That the business is a profitable one is shown by the additional elevator capacity erected there of over 2,250,000 in the last year or two, or, including the terminals of the Grand Trunk Pacific, over 6,000,000 bushels, so that now the total capacity is over 26,000,000 bushels, whereas the largest amount ever stored in these elevators at one time was under 14,000,000 bushels in April last. This goes to show that this large additional capacity erected during the last year or two is not be-

cause it is needed but because the business is an exceedingly profitable one. We have direct evidence on this point as when an application is made by the Grain Growers' Association and our Association to the Board of Railway Commissioners for a reduction in the elevator charges at Fort William because the C.P.R. were charging over 12 cents a bushel a year for elevating and storing grain, including insurance at Fort William, as against about one-quarter of this sum at their elevators. At Owen Sound, the Canadian Northern swore that after providing for depreciation, renewals, repairs and running expenses, that their profits arising from the elevator charges were not more than 8 per cent. on the amount which they had invested in the elevators and terminals connected therewith. The C.P.R. swore that their profits were only 4 per cent. under the same circumstances, owing no doubt to several of their houses being out of date, and also owing to the grain being diverted to the privately operated houses where the mixing and manipulation of the grain could be carried on.

#### Time to Act

This being the case, we hope to hear from Sir Wilfrid before we leave today that he and his colleagues have decided that they will no longer allow these three corporations to prey on every interested connected with the grain trade of our great Northwest, but that they will accede to the request made in the past and reiterated here again today by all these interests to take over and operate these elevators forthwith, and thus place, as it were, the key-stone on the efforts which they have been putting forth from year to year to assist and protect the agricultural and allied interests of this great country of ours.

D. W. McCuaig:—The next gentleman I am to call upon is Geo. E. Goldie, who will speak for the Ontario millers.

### Mr. Goldie's Address

Mr. Goldie:—As representing, with Mr. Wood, the Dominion Millers' Association, I wish to support the resolution presented by the Grain Growers.

All of the milling interests of the association as well as my own are located here in Ontario, and having no Western elevators we have to buy all our grain at Fort William and in order to maintain the high quality of our products and meet the keen competition of the great mills west

of the Lakes, it is absolutely necessary that we should secure our grain of the same high standard as it is sold by the producers in the West and buy it at its legitimate value. With grain dealers operating the terminal elevators at Fort William and Port Arthur we find not only is the quality of the grain as shipped out of the elevators unsatisfactory, but we find that owing to the terminal elevator companies buying up the cash grain to

earn for their houses the heavy storage charges now imposed that we have to pay more for the cash grain than it is worth, generally one-half cent per bushel or more when we go to load our boats. Some may say that this advance in price is a good thing for the farmer, but as a matter of fact the farmer receives no benefit from it as it is only the spot wheat in Fort William that is available to load the boats within a day or two that the price is advanced on.

Wheat which has only reached Winnipeg frequently carries no premium and the farmers wheat coming forward from the country or in the country elevators is sold on a basis of about the current option. To illustrate, take the price of 1 Northern. On November 26, spot price 92-7-8, country price 92½; 3 Northern, spot 87¼, country 86½; November 30, 1 Northern, spot 90¼, country 90; 3 Northern, spot 84¼, country 83¼. Evidently there was no demand for 1 Northern to load boats this day. December 3rd, 1 Northern, spot 92, country 91; 3 Northern spot 86½, country 85. December 6, 1 Northern spot 91 5-8, country 91¼; 3 Northern, spot 86 1-8, country 85¼. December 9th, 1 Northern, spot 90 3-8, country 90; No. 3 Northern, spot 84¾, country 83¾. I could give you the same figures on 2 Northern showing the premium running from ¼ of a cent to 1 cent per bushel depending on how keen the demand was for grain to load boats.

#### Another Graft

Nor is this the only way that we are held up by the terminal elevators, as only last week I chartered two vessels to load grain at the elevators for winter storage to bring down at the opening of navigation, and not only did the elevators shove up the price spot grain one-half cent per bushel when they found it was required for this purpose but they notified the vessel owner that they would not load any grain into the boats after the 10th December although the elevators run all winter and ship grain out by rail.

Mr. McCuaig:—I will next call upon Mr. Hedley Shaw, representing the Toronto Board of Trade, to address you.

## Mr. Shaw's Address

Mr. Shaw:—I beg to present the resolution of the Toronto board of trade in support of the resolution presented by Mr. McCuaig for the Grain Growers, as follows:

Their action was simply another move to keep the grain in the elevators subject to their heavy charges, and an additional burden on the millers and exporters who are buying the grain for legitimate business purposes.

As one of the royal grain commissioners I was opposed to government ownership of the terminal elevators and reported against government ownership but in favor of steps being taken to prevent any parties interested in the grain trade from owning or operating the terminal elevators. Personally I am just as strongly opposed as ever to government ownership as a general principle, yet the conditions at Fort William are such that I am now convinced that there is no other remedy for the outrageous state of affairs existing there than government ownership and operation.

#### Control Insufficient

The steps taken to curb the evil by the issue and registration of terminal warehouse receipts are entirely insufficient as it would still be possible by selection from the grades for the terminal elevator owner to put an illegitimate profit of 1 cent or 1½ cents per bushel into his pocket and at the same time to so handle his export business that he would ruin the business of any firm exporting in competition with him through his house.

The Winnipeg Grain Exchange in their last annual report referring to this question, state in part as follows:—

"They deplore the fact that owing to information already made public confidence in the handling of grain through the terminals has been seriously impaired."

These facts and those submitted by the previous speaker show that the present method of operating the terminal elevators is such a serious menace to the grain and flour industry of this country that it must speedily be removed or irreparable damage will be done, and therefore we ask you to take immediate action.

"Whereas representatives of the Winnipeg Grain Exchange, the Montreal Grain Exchange and the Kingston board of trade, waited on the Dominion government representing that it was of the



utmost importance that the various grades of grain as inspected by the government inspectors should reach the consumer both in the eastern provinces and abroad without any admixture or selection of the grades, and they believe that the only way to attain this is for the government to take over and operate the terminal elevators at Fort William and Port Arthur:

"And whereas since then no less than three of the terminal elevators were heavily fined for mixing the grades contrary to law in spite of the close supervision which the government maintained by means of their various officials,

"And whereas from past experience we believe that the only way the grain can reach the consumer of the same quality and inspected into the elevators by the government inspectors is that it be stored in government elevators at Fort William and Port Arthur.

"Therefore be it resolved that this grain section of the board of trade of the city of Toronto most earnestly request the Dominion government without delay to take whatever steps are necessary to take over and operate the terminal elevators at Fort William at the earliest possible moment so that the milling and export trade may be no longer handicapped by the dealers in grain owning and operating the terminal elevators through which the independent shippers are compelled to ship their grain thus placing them at an unfair disadvantage which should be removed forthwith especially as the acquisition and operation of these terminal elevators by the Dominion government would prove a very profitable operation and grow more profitable year by year as the quantity of grain to be shipped through these elevators will undoubtedly increase very largely each succeeding year."

#### A Concrete Case

In support of this resolution I beg to say that I have a line of interior elevators in the Northwest, I have mills at Brandon and Kenora, west of Fort William, for which all the grain is supplied as bought from the farmers. I also have mills at St. Catharines and Thorold and have now in course of erection a 8,000 barrel mill at Port Colbourne, all in Ontario. The grain for these latter mills must come through the elevators at Fort William. Now I find that the grain which I take in at the mill at Kenora that has not passed through the terminal elevators at Fort William and Port Arthur is worth half a cent to a cent and a half more for milling purposes than the grain of the same grades which is shipped out from Fort

William and Port Arthur elevators for use in my mills this side of the lakes. There is no difference in the value of this wheat as shipped by the farmers and inspected at Winnipeg, and there should be absolutely no difference in its value if it were shipped out of the Fort William and Port Arthur elevators as it is received in.

#### Why the difference?

1. Because the men operating those elevators take grain which is stored there by the farmers and dealers and which they do not own and should not have any interest in except as warehousemen and manipulate it by mixing No. 2, No. 3 Northern and even No. 4 into 1. Northern as shown by Commissioner Castle's report.

2. By the selection of grades.

3. By not cleaning the grain properly as called for by the inspection certificate.

Referring to the latter I find the average dockage on grain going into my mill at Kenora as assessed by Inspector Horn is 1 1/2 per cent. If this average dockage applies to all grain passing through Fort William it would amount to over a million bushels per year. Do the elevators clean out of the grain passing through their houses over a million bushels a year? I think not. In this way they are enabled to put into their pockets a much larger profit and illegitimate profit than they could make by the legitimate operation of the elevators, notwithstanding the enormous storage charges which the grain has to bear.

#### Expensive Handicap

What Mr. Goldie, the last speaker, told you regarding the cash premium is absolutely correct as I have been up against the same thing every time that I have loaded a boat, and the profits in the milling industry are now cut so fine, especially in the export business where we have to compete with flour made from wheat from all over the world that we cannot profitably continue in business if subject to this handicap, even if the grain shipped out of Fort William and Port Arthur elevators was of equal value to that received direct from the West at our Kenora mill.

If the government does not take over and operate these elevators at once there will be no other course left me but to build a terminal elevator at Fort William in connection with my milling business, so that I can get the grain without its being manipulated or degraded for use in my mills down here. Then if I wish to compete with the other elevators successfully, I would have to adopt the same tactics that they do in handling the



grain. I trust, however, that the Dominion government will, by deciding to-day, to buy and operate the terminal elevators put a stop to the further tying up of large sums of money in erecting more elevators at that point. Already the capacity of the elevators there has never been much more than half filled and is sufficient for the requirements of the trade for many years to come if in the hands of one management.

#### A Desperate Case

The members of the council of the board of trade of the City of Toronto are

Mr. McCuaig:—I will next call upon Mr. H. W. Richardson, representing the exporters east and west, to address you.

### Mr. Richardson's Address

I did not expect, Sir Wilfrid and Sir Richard, to have occasion to meet you again in so short a time, but I have been appointed by the Winnipeg grain dealers and exporters to represent them on this occasion. Sir Richard, I had the pleasure of being before you last February on the great question of terminal elevators, which is of vital importance to our country and I thank you for what you at that time did because there has been an improvement, of that there is no doubt whatever.

Regarding the matter of the Western business I might say that our firm has been in operation in the northwest, buying grain from the farmers of the West since 1888, and we have continued to this day. Last year we shipped 14 million bushels of grain to Fort William, about one-sixth of the total crop. We have a line of elevators from High River near Calgary to Portage la Prairie. The grain that we buy is inspected at Winnipeg and goes into the bins in the terminal elevators at Fort William and Port Arthur. Last spring I made the charge that the grain as shipped out was skinned down to the lowest grade. By this I meant that the elevator operators had mixed different kinds of wheat in such a way that the wheat of each grade was of the poorest possible quality. Let me explain what I mean. You have a car of wheat that should grade No. 1. It is raised perhaps on Portage Plains and it may not be as heavy as the wheat raised farther West, and though it is up to the standard in other respects it is a pound short of what is required for No. 1 and it is graded No. 2. Then you have a car of wheat raised farther West. It weighs 62 pounds to the measured bushel but it is a little soft,

opposed as a whole to the principle of government and municipal ownership and so express themselves in considering this resolution, but they felt that it was a case of "desperate diseases needing desperate remedies," and therefore they have forwarded this resolution to you with the earnest request that you will at once remove the grievance and restore the confidence of local as well as foreign buyers in the integrity of the grades of Manitoba grain as inspected by the Dominion government inspector.

and it is also graded No. 2. You put the two together, each makes up for the deficiencies of the other, and you have a No. 1 Northern wheat. It costs the elevator nothing, but it brings the elevator people an extra profit of \$60. That is a loss to the country. I do not accuse these men of doing anything but what the law allows them to, and the only way I see to put a stop to this kind of thing is for the government to take over these terminal elevators and operate them by a commission representative of the grain exchanges and of the grain growers. These are the men who are furnishing the goods and they will see that the goods are handled right.

#### The Cost

The question comes in of cost. I believe that if they are handled right the elevators will pay enormous dividends. For instance, we pay one cent a bushel per month for storage, and there are concrete elevators that cost only one-fifth of a cent a bushel for a year. If a man puts a bushel of oats in an elevator for a year he will have to pay 12 cents storage, one-third of the value of the oats. I know a concrete elevator in the East where they charge 1½ cents a bushel for storage all winter and half a cent for handling in the summer and they are able to pay 12 per cent. dividends.

#### Too much Minnesota

I had the pleasure, too, of being before the railway commission about a year ago, and there was a gentleman there representing the elevator companies who stated that they were only paying 6 per cent, 5 per cent., and 4 per cent. dividends. If that is all they are paying, surely the govern-

ment can buy them cheap enough. I noticed in the papers some time ago that it was thought that it might be good policy to adopt the Minnesota laws. Gentlemen, I think our trouble is all from Minnesota (laughter). All the wrinkles and all the knowledge that 35 or 40 years of experience of terminal elevator can give has been brought over to Canada and used in this country. We were very much better before the Minnesota people came in. Do not let us go there to look for help; surely we can help ourselves.

#### Protect the Wheat

Sir Wilfrid and gentlemen, I will not occupy your time very much. It is a big subject. I have considered it a great deal, but I know this: we want to keep up the character of our wheat in Europe. We stand today foremost barring none. We ship the best wheat to Europe that is shipped from any part of the world. Our wheat, true, does not bring so much more than Minnesota wheat, but it always has the preference. It may bring us sixpence a quarter more or four pence halfpenny more a quarter. I know when

the crops in Dakota were not good and the millers on the other side had to come to Canada for their wheat—I know they said: "It is years and years since we had the pleasure of grinding such good wheat as yours." I think our No. 2 Northern today is as good as their No. 1 Northern Minnesota. If you take these grades down to a United States miller I think he would give our wheat the preference. The fact is we have the best climate, the best soil and the best people, and we can raise the best wheat. We have the best waterways and railroads, let us keep on getting the best. We can afford to buy these terminals—let us do it and we will make money out of them. Cut the charges right in two and you can make money. I will tell you how. There is a great long string of elevators that are quite necessary in the fall, but after you get through shipping you can close up two or three of them and operate the balance and have all the room you want. Then you fill all the elevators that are built of concrete and cost little for insurance and you will save millions of dollars. Gentlemen, it is easy.

## CHILLED MEAT QUESTION

D. W. McCuaig:—The next resolution I have to lay before you is a request in connection with the chilled meat question.

The resolution is as follows:

"The government be urgently requested to erect the necessary works and operate a modern and up-to-date method of exporting our meat animals.

"We suggest that a system owned and operated by the government as a public utility or a system of co-operation by the producers through the gov-

ernment, in which the government would supply the funds necessary to first install the system and provide for the gradual repayment of these funds and interest by a charge on the product passing through the system, would give the relief needed, and make Canada one of the most prosperous meat producing countries in the world."

I will call upon D. W. Warner, of Edmonton, Alberta, a director of the United Farmers of Alberta, and a member of the Canadian Council of Agriculture, to address you.

### Mr. Warner's Address

Mr. Warner:—To the Right Honorable Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Prime Minister of Canada; the Members of the Government and the Members of the House of Commons—

The live stock trade, of great importance now, must ultimately become the backbone of agricultural prosperity in

Canada. We realize the importance of carrying on a mixed farming business, and we know that the keeping of stock is not only the best but the only means of preventing the depletion of our soil in anything like a permanent manner; all other means being more or less temporary.

Our Prairie Provinces, on account of the facility with which food can be produced, and the salubrious character of the climate, is exceedingly well adapted for the production of food-producing animals. Yet, on account of the inadequacy of the system of marketing stock, and notwithstanding the fact that consumers in the large centres of population have to pay very high prices for meat, the returns to cattle raisers are so discouraging, that increasing numbers of them are going out of this business to an alarming extent.

### Ranches Disappearing

The old cheap method of raising cattle on large ranches is rapidly disappearing; in the near future the only source of supply will be the farms, and under present conditions the farmer cannot possibly raise the number of cattle needed for the home and export trade with any reasonable profit to himself. Thus, one of the greatest sources of our agricultural wealth is being destroyed instead of being developed. We wish to impress on you the necessity of a profitable, economical and permanent market for our meat products. The marketing of our meat has so far been left in the hands of monopolies, of whose methods much complaint has been made and not without cause. We wish also to draw attention to the danger we are in while we leave the opportunity open for the United States meat interests to capture and control the export trade from our country. We contend that it is a very vital importance, if the Canadian meat export trade is to grow and prosper as our natural resources will permit, that Canada must have her own route and equipment. Another serious condition arises when from any cause a crop is of poor quality and there is not sufficient stock in the country to consume it. Still another complication, due to the poor and uncertain price for beef, is the deterioration of our beef animals through crossing of dairy breeds with them and the tendency to careless breeding of inferior stock.

### The Only Remedy

The farmers in view of this situation believe that the remedy for this condition of affairs is the establishment of an export trade in dressed meat. As to the advantages and feasibility of that proposition we also quote extracts from the report by Dr. Rutherford of August 1st, 1909:—

"There is no doubt but that if the enterprise were properly financed, started on a firm basis, and conducted in an honest and business-like manner in the interests of the producer, there would be far less actual wastage than at present. It is altogether likely that, had it been

possible to secure the required capital, the trade would have been inaugurated years ago.

### Public Control Necessary

"Such an enterprise, to be productive of the greatest benefit to all concerned, should be under effective public control, and it is to be hoped that in the not too distant future some practicable scheme will be evolved, which while affording a better and more reliable and regular market for our Western live stock, will still leave the producer free from the trammels of any trust, whether foreign or domestic.

"Canada is practically without abattoirs equipped for the slaughter of cattle, except to a very limited extent for the home market. She has no system of refrigerator meat cars, and has, entering her ports, very few ships fitted for the carrying of meat. In view of these facts it is scarcely necessary to dwell on the risk which she is constantly carrying. At any time, in spite of the best efforts of her veterinary sanitary service, the appearance within her borders of one or other of the diseases scheduled by the British board of agriculture is within the range of possibility. As matters now stand, were such a thing to occur, especially within the short period in which our Western cattle are shipped, or at the time when our winter fed steers are being marketed, the consequence to the producers would be disastrous, while the whole trade would receive a blow from which it would require many years to recover. For this reason, if for no other, the establishment of a chilled meat trade on sound business lines and under proper control may fairly be termed a matter of national importance."

### Pay Charges on Excess

Besides the risk suggested by Dr. Rutherford, we may point out that by shipping the cattle on foot, we pay all the transportation expenses on the live weight, which is virtually just the double the real meat weight. We incur large expenses in attending to and feeding the cattle during the journey, the cattle waste and deteriorate during the journey and bring lower prices on arrival, and so in every way the present method of shipping cattle alive is the most wasteful method of conducting this business both for producer and consumer, to say nothing of the suffering of the cattle during the long journey. After long and earnest consideration we have concluded that we, as a nation, cannot afford to have the farmer, our greatest wealth producers, left without a good market for their

produce and hampered by trusts and monopolies. Such a condition, we think, would lessen their efficiency as farmers and stockmen, and tend to bring about a permanent and irreparable damage to the nation as a whole. This is not a new question. It is an old and serious one to those who, struggling along under the many adverse conditions, find that they are compelled to sacrifice the animals they have reared, on the altar of monopoly, and find that the money they had hoped to obtain for the sustenance of their families has gone to further enrich the powerful and already rich operators of the meat trust.

#### Urge Adoption of System

We urge your government to seriously consider the advisability of providing the necessary equipment for the carrying on of a chilled meat trade with the British markets, for the benefit of stock growers. We have all the more assurance in making this request from the fact that it has been the fixed policy of your government, since 1896, to grant bonuses for the development and encouragement of new industries in the different provinces of the Dominion. The government of Canada has paid bounties to fishermen of the Maritime provinces to aid in the development of their fisheries during the last twenty-seven years, the sum of \$4,265,315. Since that date they have paid to the lead industry, \$1,131,378; Manila fibre industry, \$144,459; crude petroleum industry, \$1,559,672; iron and steel \$11,922,420; manufacture of steel, \$1,633,702, making a total bounty granted these industries of \$10,593,531. Including the bonus to fishermen the amount is \$20,859,815. It is a debatable question whether, on account of the price paid, these industries are enabled to charge the public for their commodity through the protection granted them by the tariff, much benefit accrues to the people of Canada for this large gift to the different industries. Be that as it may, all the provinces of the Dominion, with the exception of the Prairie Provinces, have participated directly to these bounties. Furthermore, the government has, on no occasion, granted a bounty towards the development of any branch of the agricultural industry. In view of this fact it does not seem unreasonable if the Western farmers should request the government to render aid in creating conditions that would enable the farmers

to market their stock produce to the best advantage. Furthermore, the bounty granted these other industries is a free gift. In our case we only request the government to make an investment that would be an addition to the capital account of the Dominion and could be made to pay interest on the investment directly.

"Whereas it is of very great importance to the whole of Canada that prompt government action be taken towards establishing a complete chilled meat system on a sound and permanent basis, with the interests of the producers adequately protected, and

"Whereas, the live stock industry of Canada has been neglected and if the neglect is continued it will soon result in impoverished farms, and the live stock industry will make no headway until it is made worth the farmers' while to produce and furnish more and better stock; and,

"Whereas, the farmers are, on account of the unsatisfactory market, going out of the meat producing business, and will not again take it up until the market is placed upon a stable basis, and, further, that under the present system of exporting there is always a danger of the markets of the world being closed to us, which would result in ruin to many; and,

#### Must Have System

"Whereas, on account of the danger of encouraging monopolies the farmers cannot be satisfied with anything short of a meat curing and chilling process inaugurated by the Dominion government, and operated in such a way that will guarantee to the producers the value of the animals they produce:

"Therefore, be it resolved, that the government be urgently requested to erect the necessary works and operate a modern and up-to-date method of exporting our meat animals.

"We suggest that a system owned and operated by the government as a public utility, or a system of co-operation by the producers through the government in which the government would supply the funds necessary to first install the system and provide for the gradual repayment of these funds and interest by a charge on the product passing through the system, would give the relief needed, and make Canada one of the most prosperous meat producing countries in the world."



# HUDSON'S BAY RAILWAY

Mr. McCuaig.—The next subject we have to bring before you, Sir Wilfrid, is that of the Hudson's Bay Railway. The resolution passed at our convention on this subject was as follows:

"Whereas, the necessity of the Hudson's Bay Railway as the natural and the most economic outlet for placing the products of the Western prairies on the European market has been emphasized by the Western people for past generation;

"And whereas, the Dominion government has recognized the need and importance of the Hudson's Bay Railway and has pledged itself to its immediate construction, and has provided the necessary funds entirely from the sale of Western lands;

"And whereas, the chief benefit to be derived from the Hudson's Bay Railway will be a reduction in freight rates in Western Canada due to actual

competition, which could be secured only through government ownership and operation of the Hudson's Bay Railway;

"And whereas, anything short of absolute public ownership and operation of the Hudson's Bay Railway will defeat the purpose for which the road was advocated, and without which it would be in the interests of Western Canada that the building of the road should be deferred;

"Therefore, be it resolved that it is the opinion of this convention that the Hudson's Bay Railway and all terminal facilities connected therewith should be constructed, owned and operated in perpetuity by the Dominion government under an independent commission."

I will call upon Mr. R. C. Henders, President of the Manitoba Grain Growers' Association, and a member of the Canadian Council of Agriculture, to address you.

## Mr. Henders' Address

Mr. Henders:—To the Right Honorable Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Prime Minister of Canada; the Members of the Government and the Members of the House of Commons—

Situated as they are in the centre of the continent, the question of transportation becomes to Western farmers of vital importance. For years they have had the idea established in their minds that the proper and most natural outlet for their farm products was by the Hudson's Bay, that forming the shortest route to the European markets, reducing very materially the expensive land haul on heavy commodities. They appreciate the fact that your government has taken steps towards building a railway to Hudson's Bay. But there is an evident impatience in the public mind of the Prairie Provinces, that the progress being made towards the construction of the road is not as rapid as the necessities of the case demand. We, therefore, urge that every effort be made towards the immediate construction of the Hudson's Bay railway.

The building of this road to the bay will be no burden on the public treasury as full provision has already been made by your government by which the necessary funds are already in hand, being provided for by the sale of Western lands. According to reports issued by your government, Western lands have been sold to the amount of \$21,000,000. It is anticipated that when the payments on these lands are completed, together with the interest on the same, the total will amount to \$24,000,000. Estimates fix the cost of construction of the Hudson's Bay Railway somewhere about \$18,000,000, so there is ample money in sight for this purpose provided as above outlined. We are gratified that your government has already declared its intention of devoting this money to the construction of the road to the Bay. When the pre-emption bill was introduced in the House of Commons two years ago the minister of the interior, in speaking on the bill, said: "I am insisting on the pre-emption provision as a means of ensuring

the early building of the railway to Hudson's Bay." During the debate on the same bill several statements of a similar purport were made on the floor of the house by members of the government.

In view of the fact that the Hudson's Bay railway is being built largely for the benefit of the Western people and that the funds for its construction have been entirely provided from the West, it seems only reasonable that the construction, ownership and operation should be in accord with the express wishes of the people most interested.

#### **Government Must Retain Road**

The farmers of the West view with alarm the current reports to the effect that when the Hudson's Bay railway is built by the government it will be handed over to some private corporation to be operated by them as a private concern. There is a very strong and growing sentiment among the Canadian people west of the Great Lakes in favor of public utilities being owned and operated by the government. This sentiment has been and is still being created and enlarged by the excessive charges made by corporations for the service they render to the public.

We desire to call the attention of your government to the fact that the farmers of the West are not alone in the expression of the above views on this question. Practically every Board of Trade in the Western towns and cities have gone on record as strongly in favor of government construction, ownership and operation of the Hudson's Bay Railway, so that there is practically a unanimity of opinion on this question, in Western Canada today.

#### **Road Is Needed**

The prairie farmers have not only to ship out their produce, but have also

to ship in all commodities required on the farm, and in the distribution of these commodities have very much felt the oppressive character of the present transportation system. This situation has led thinking men to look for a remedy and there is becoming a settled conviction in the public mind that the only effective remedy is that public utilities and semi-public utilities should be operated by the government, federal, provincial and municipal, in the interest of the masses.

The present situation is that the few co-operate to discharge the function of distribution of commodities for the benefit of the few at the expense of the many. Instead of this, farmers consider that a new system should be adopted whereby the many, in the form of the government, will operate public utilities for the benefit of the many, and groups of individuals discharge the functions of distributing commodities for the benefit of the many.

#### **Under Independent Commission**

We would earnestly urge on your government that you will not only construct the Hudson's Bay Railway as a government undertaking, as early as possible, and also provide all necessary terminal facilities for the handling of grain and other commodities as a government undertaking, but will also, on the completion of the road, operate it under an independent commission. To hand over the road, when completed, to a private corporation would, in our opinion, practically destroy its usefulness to Western Canada; and we believe that the expenditure of the money required to build the road will not be justified unless the interests of the people are protected in the manner which we have indicated.



# AMENDMENTS TO RAILWAY ACT

D. W. McCuaig:—The next question is the matter of the amendment of the Railway act. The amendments are of a general nature and were not put in the form of a resolution. Mr. James Bower, President of the United Farmers of Alberta, will have charge of this question and will present to you our proposals.

## Mr. Bower's Address

Mr. Bower:—To the Right Honorable Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Prime Minister of Canada; the Members of the Government and the Members of the House of Commons—

We wish to draw your attention to the Railway Act, certain parts of which are oppressive and detrimental to the farming interests. The parts to which we have more particular reference at the present time are:

1. The liability of the railways in respect to fences and cattle guards.
2. For stock injured on the lines.
3. The adjustment of freight rates and amendments to sections of the Act which have reference thereto.

We might here say that not only the stock-killing question but the freight rates affect the farmer more deeply than any other class of people. They constitute not only the great bulk of the producing class but also of the consumers, so that although those who are dealing directly with the railways and paying the tolls may sometimes feel aggrieved, yet they reimburse themselves by charging a higher price for what they sell or protect themselves in what they buy by buying at a lower price from the producer so that ultimately the greater burden of the freight rates falls on the farmer.

### Killing of Stock

As to the killing of stock on the railways, our complaint is that the law as laid down in the Railway Act is very vague, giving the companies the chance of evading payment of just claims, a chance of which they take advantage in hundreds of cases. We wish to draw your attention to Section 254, which is not sufficiently complete in itself to enforce the building of suitable fences and guards over all parts of companies' lines where such are needed.

A ruling which was given some time ago by the Board of Railway Commissioners would to a great extent have effected a remedy, but this ruling has,

however, been appealed, and we understand that the appeal has been upheld. There is no doubt whatever that the ruling was given for good cause, but the question of jurisdiction was raised, thus defeating the protection that would otherwise have been given to the farmer. The argument against it as presented by the railway companies is an absurd one—that each individual case be tried separately—because by the time that could be done the injury would have been effected and irreparable loss sustained. The reasons given by the trial judges of the Court of Appeal for upholding the appeal were that although the ruling was reasonable and wise, yet parliament alone should change the policy expressed in this Section 254 of the Act.

### About Fences

Now, while sub-section 3 of this section clearly states that: "Such fences, gates and cattle guards shall be suitable and sufficient to prevent cattle and other animals from getting on the railway," yet it is very plain to all those who have to do with these that they are not suitable or sufficient, especially the cattle guards. We do not know of any authority whose judgment would be infallible as to what is suitable and sufficient, but we ask that another clause be added making the presence of uncontrolled animals anywhere on the right-of-way, other than on a public crossing, prima facie proof that these fences and guards are not suitable and sufficient, unless the company can prove that these animals gained entrance by way of private gates or crossings carelessly left open by the owners or agents of the owners of the cattle or the property.

Sub-section No. 1 of Section No. 294, which prohibits cattle from running at large within one half mile of a railway crossing on a public highway, has evidently been inserted in the act to prevent accidents when such accidents are caused by animals being on the cross-

ings. This would seem to be a wise provision and we would not object to it if it were not used by the railway companies to evade payment of just claims.

### Burden Not On Railroads

Taking this in connection with Sub-sections 3, 4 and 5 of Section 254, it might appear to a casual observer, or possibly to those who framed the law, that the burden of proof is placed upon the company and that the right to recover is preserved to the owner. This, however, is how it works out. When the employees of the company, whose duty it is to report to the company of stock injured, make their report they seem to almost invariably report that the stock had been running at large, without having made any investigation. At least we may infer that it is the case from the replies of the claims agents, who almost invariably state that, according to information they have received, these animals were running at large and that in consequence of this the railway company interested is not liable; so that if the owner cannot positively prove that his animals got on the track out of his enclosed land through a defective fence, he has no chance whatever, though he may be morally certain that they did go through the fence. Unless he has a witness who saw them do so he can do nothing. This might not appear to be the meaning of the Act, but with the so-called information in the hands of the company, should it be reliable or unreliable, the company can take the advantage of it in establishing that the animals were running at large. Sheltering themselves behind this, the companies make no provision whatever by way of suitable and sufficient cattle guards, as thousands can testify.

### Burden on Farmers

No farmer would dare to set the law in motion against a powerful railway company, and as a result we have seen men who were almost ruined become almost desperate. We have seen quiet, inoffensive, industrious, law-abiding citizens transformed, at least for the time being, into raging, implacable foes of the government, smarting as they were under a sense of the injustice meted out to them. When we have approached the higher authorities and asked that the law be amended or that at least an interpretation be given that would protect us we were repulsed by being told that we were suffering because of the consequence of our own acts. We have

been told that the law as regards private crossings is just and reasonable, but we are not complaining of the law on private crossings, except sub-sections "B" and "C" of Section 295, which takes away the owners' right of action if any trespasser or outsider whatever has tampered with the fence. We do not want to hide ourselves behind the carelessness or negligence of anyone, but we want a law that will protect our property against needless destruction.

### Defects of Act

We would respectfully point out that the act is:

1. Defective in the respect that no full provision is made for the fencing of the right-of-way while the railway is under construction, thus throwing a man's farm open without any protection whatever.

2. Defective in no provision being made for compelling suitable fences and guards, the only competent test of such being their ability to keep animals off the track.

3. Defective in leaving it open for the railways to evade payment of just claims by bluffing or outlawing the claimant with a counter-claim that his animals were running at large.

4. Defective in barring the owner of right of action where any trespasser or person other than an officer or employee has taken down any part of the railway fence or wilfully opened any gate. This we claim is the right of the railway company to take care of and keep in order, no matter who injures it, especially as the act elsewhere provides a penalty upon anyone causing such injury.

5. Defective in not making the company liable for losses arising out of animals being injured, such as others in the herd being driven or scared away and lost; crops being destroyed by the animals being scared or forced in or loss of the use of work animals in consequence of the injury.

### Should Require Yearly Report

We would therefore respectfully submit that all railways be required to make a certified report each year of all animals killed or injured on its lines during the year, with full description of the locality where the accident occurred, together with the amount of claims paid. We have reason to believe that thousands of cases are never reported in such a way that the public can have knowledge of it. We would



also ask that the railways be required to construct all necessary crossings and approaches thereto at the same time that the line is under construction so that residents in the vicinity or other travellers be not put to unnecessary inconvenience.

#### Extend Commission's Power

Above all we would ask that the power of the Railway Commission be extended or an independent court appointed, giving them more complete jurisdiction over stock-killing cases or fencing right-of-way, or any such cases as may arise between the railways and the people, with the right to try such cases and award judgment. We would also suggest that the following amendments be made to the Railway Act during the present session of parliament:

(1). That Section 254 be amended by incorporating therein the recommendation and orders of the Railway Commission as contained in Order No. 7473, dated May 4, 1909, and signed by Hon. J. P. Mabee, chief Commissioner of the Board of Railway Commissioners, with the addition that the presence of uncontrolled animals on railway property be prima facie evidence that the fences or guards are not suitable and sufficient.

(2). That Section 294 be amended by repealing Section 8 of the Act 9-10 Edward VII, Chapter 50, of the Act to amend the Railway Act, Chapter 37 of the Revised Statutes, 1906, and substituting for sub-section 4 of said Section 294 the following:

"4. When any horses, sheep, swine or other cattle get upon the property or lands of the company and by reason thereof damage is caused to or by such animal, the party suffering such damage shall, except in the cases otherwise provided for by the next following section, be entitled to recover the amount of such damage against the company in any action in any court of competent jurisdiction; and, anything to the contrary in this section notwithstanding, the fact that such animal was permitted to be at large contrary to the provisions of this section, or that such animal got at large through the negligence or any act or omission of the owner or agent, or of the custodian of such animal or his agent shall not deprive the owner of his right to recover; provided, however, that nothing herein shall be taken or construed as relieving any person from the penalties imposed by Section 407 of this Act."

#### Other Amendments

(3). That Section 295 of the Railway Act, 1906, be amended as follows: (a) By inserting at the beginning of sub-section B the following words: "Any person for whose use any farm crossing is furnished," placing such words before the first word of the sub-section—"wilfully"; (b) By amending sub-section C by adding thereto after the word "fence" where it appears in the third line of said sub-section, the following words: "Provided, however, that it shall be the duty of an officer or employee of the company to keep such fences in good and proper repair."

#### Excessive Tolls

The third question to which we would refer you is the excessive railway tolls, both passenger and freight, which are burdens keenly felt by farmers all over Canada. There are certain provisions of the Railway Act, however, which enable the companies to bring these burdens to bear on certain localities with more than doubly greater weight and the provisions of which they take advantage to bring into action a vicious principle of discrimination are:

The allowance of competitive rates and the consideration of which is termed density of traffic as a factor in framing their tariffs. We may well believe that railways will not choose to charge anything less than a profitable rate, even where competition exists, so that they should not be permitted to charge more in localities where competition does not exist, or putting it in another form—each company will endeavor to make the maximum amount of profit and if they are permitted to cut rates because of competition they will be sure to find excuse to make it up where there is no competition.

#### Rates Discriminative

While it does not appear to us that there is anything in the Act which expressly permits the regulation of the tariffs in accordance with the density of traffic, yet we well know that it is done and that a sufficiently liberal interpretation of the Act is permitted to enable them to do this so that while presumably the Act forbids discrimination, yet under the Act discrimination is carried on. The Act forbids, and rightly so, "any reduction or advance in any tolls either directly or indirectly in favor of or against any particular person or company." The same principle and restrictions should obtain

when applied to localities. The Act gives the inference that the same principle should obtain as to localities under similar circumstances, and here the question arises, what are similar circumstances? We reply that density of traffic and competition should never be taken to mean that circumstances are not similar.

The Act says, "that no toll shall be charged which unjustly discriminates between localities," yet it permits discrimination in favor of localities where competition exists or where the traffic is dense, even although that density is caused very largely by trade going further on, and is charged a higher proportionate rate before reaching its destination.

#### Abuses Creep In

This is a condition of things which leaves the way open for many abuses to creep in, and we have good reason to know that many abuses have made their way in, the effects of which are severely felt. Although it is made illegal for railways to give concessions to particular persons or companies, yet this can be done by giving concessions to localities where these particular persons or companies have the chief interest in the business.

If it is wrong to allow persons to purchase cheap rates to the detriment of others then it is wrong to allow places this privilege, yet it is openly done, and it has been openly argued by railway lawyers before the commission that they were justified in giving discriminatory rates because of this.

#### New Sections Burdened

Thus, on account of the people's interests not being sufficiently safeguarded by the Act in this respect, the evils of this system become intensified in localities where they are least able to bear it. It might appear that in newly settled sections of the country the railways should throw out inducements to encourage trade, but their policy seems to be the very reverse, for where no competition exists they charge to the limit and often exceeding it, they make trade prohibitive. This is especially true where they are required to carry trade in opposite directions to the localities they wish to favor or to or from points they wish to discourage or in any direction that tends to shorten their own haul, and giving it to rival carrying companies, thus completely ignoring the rights of the people. They then advance the argument that circumstances are not similar and work that argument for all it is worth and more.

They sometimes make the claim that the cost of construction and operation

is greater in these localities, but will not give the public any information as to what that cost really is. They sometimes claim to be at a disadvantage in working in these localities, but grants and concessions have been given them many times greater than their disadvantages. Many instances can be given where discrimination exists to the extent of over 100%, and incredible as it may seem even to the extent of 800 per cent., thus prohibiting trade between neighboring localities and retarding the development of the country.

#### Give Complete Jurisdiction

We believe that the railway commission should be given more complete jurisdiction in this and in all matters of dispute between the railways and the people, and that at the same time the law should be more clearly defined for their guidance in these matters. On account of the public character of the railways they should not be permitted to discriminate against any part of the public or against any locality. Every precaution should be taken to guard against this, for while the same men who are financially interested in the railways are financially interested in other lines of trade and commerce then the incentive to discriminate will remain.

A feeling of indignation has been growing for many years among the farmers and of late has been gaining much added strength, indignation because of the railways being permitted to practice what has been called "watering their stock" and then raising their tariffs to a level that will give a profit on this fictitious capital. The feeling is widespread that the time has come when this should cease.

We believe the time has come when true physical valuation should be taken of all the different railways operating in Canada to be used as a basis of fixing the rates, and that the information so obtained be placed in the hands of the public.

#### Report Summarized

In summarizing this portion of the report we would therefore request:

1. That the principle of fixing the tariffs in accordance with the competition of other roads or the density of traffic or volume of business handled be disallowed.
2. That a true physical valuation be taken of all railways operating in Canada this valuation to be used as a basis of fixing the rates, and the information to be available to the public.
3. That the board of railway commissioners be given complete jurisdiction in these matters as well as in all other matters of dispute between the railways and the people, and to enable them to do this that the law be more clearly defined.

# CO-OPERATIVE LEGISLATION

Mr. McCnaig.—The next subject we have to bring before you is that of Co-operative legislation. The resolution upon that subject reads as follows:

'Resolved, that in the opinion of this convention it is desirable that cheap and efficient machinery for the incorporation

of co-operative societies should be provided by Federal legislation during the present session of parliament.'

I will call upon Mr. E. J. Fream, of Innisfail, Alberta, Secretary of the United Farmers of Alberta, and a member of the Canadian Council of Agriculture, to address you.

## Mr. Fream's Address

Mr. Fream:—To the Right Honorable Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Prime Minister of Canada; the Members of the Government and the Members of the House of Commons—

In a country so vast as Canada matters which might be suggested as falling to the provinces in so far as legislation is concerned, must necessarily require attention from the Dominion government. At the present time the question which is probably of moment to all Canadians, and which can be included in this class, is that of co-operative legislation.

In a country of magnificent distances it is inevitable that transportation charges add greatly to the cost of most of the articles in every day use among the settlers in the thinly settled portions of the country. There are other charges which can be added to the cost of these articles, and these include the present system of supply and distribution, which is not to the benefit of the producer or consumer.

### Charges Eliminated

These extra charges, could, we believe, be largely eliminated by the introduction of an intelligent method of co-operation, and we would therefore ask that you introduce as a government measure, an efficient Act providing for the incorporation of co-operative societies, no matter whether it may be a large or a small one. Other interests have been allowed to organize under a Dominion law, and while we do not ask for legislation which will permit a control or give any special privileges, still we believe that we should be allowed to organize and carry on business if we are desirous of doing so.

Efforts have been made toward organizing co-operative societies, but it is necessary that if the future efforts are to be crowned with success then this legislation

must be enacted. It might not be amiss for us to draw attention to the conditions which have prevailed in this country. In the days of the early development of the Eastern provinces not only were the farming and laboring classes subject to the disadvantage and limitations found in a new country, but all other interests were also in a pioneer stage, and had to make their growth with the country. In the opening of the newer parts of the Dominion conditions are altogether different. Powerful corporations control every avenue of trade and commerce, and by combining prices they are able to take undue advantage of the helplessness of both the producer and consumer, who under present conditions are compelled to submit.

### Denmark Methods

The co-operative movement is world-wide, and in some countries, notably Great Britain and Denmark, much has been done to bring the producer and consumer together. In fact in Denmark this has been carried on to such an extent that the middlemen have been almost completely eliminated.

Last year two co-operative bills were introduced into Parliament by private members, and although they apparently found favor with the majority of the members, still for some reason which has not been satisfactorily explained these bills did not become law. We are given to understand that co-operative legislation will again be introduced during the present session by a private member, but, Sir, knowing the limitations of the present system of government, and the fact that it is almost an impossibility to secure the passage of what might be called a public bill when introduced by a private member, we would ask you to give this matter

your serious consideration, and we request that your government will introduce and pass during the present session, efficient legislation which will permit the organization of co-operative societies.

#### Demand not Unreasonable

We do not think that this is an unreasonable request, as legislation of this kind does not call for the compulsory establishment of these societies, but as it will be permissive only then the residents of any district will be able to determine themselves whether they will be incorporated or not. It may be said that it is possible to organize so-called small co-operative societies under provincial legislation governing joint stock companies, but it is found in practice that to do this

it is necessary to resort to several plans and to engage legal help to prepare constitutions and general rules which will meet these cases.

Seeing that this proposed legislation will effect no interests we are fully justified in asking for this legislation, and to bring to your attention the many demands received from all parts of the country.

In conclusion we would draw your attention to the fact that there should be one uniform law regulating the operation of co-operative societies in the development of what is known as the co-operative movement in Canada, and that such legislation will be for the general benefit of Canada. We desire to state that we endorse this co-operative movement and wish to emphasize the fact that it will be of immense benefit to the whole of Canada.

## THE BANK ACT

D. W. McCuaig:—I have next a resolution on the Bank Act. There will be no speakers to this resolution, but I will simply read it.

“Whereas, it is generally believed that the Bank act, forming, as it does, the charter of all Canadian banks for a ten year term, by its present phrasing prevents any amendment involving curtailment of their powers enjoyed by

virtue of the provisions of such charter, be it resolved:

“That this Ottawa convention of delegates desire that the new Bank act be so worded as to permit the act to be amended at any time and in any particular.”

## THE TARIFF

D. W. McCuaig:—We now come to the last thing we have on our list, and I may say that it is the most important of all the things we have asked for today. It refers, Sir, to the customs tariff. The tariff case as passed at our convention is embodied in the following statement which is signed by the president and secretary of the Canadian Council of Agriculture:

“This delegation, representative of the agricultural interests of Canada, desire to approach you upon the question of the bearing of the Canadian customs tariff.

“We come, asking no favors at your hands. We bear with us no feeling of antipathy towards any other line of industrial life. We welcome within the limits of Canada's broad domain every legitimate form of industrial enterprise, but in view of the fact that the further progress and development of the agricultural industry is of such vital importance to the general welfare of the state, that all other Canadian industries

are so dependent upon its success, that its constant condition forms the great barometer of trade, we consider its operations should no longer be hampered by tariff restrictions.

“And in view of the favorable approaches already made, through President Taft and the American Government looking towards more friendly trade relations between Canada and the United States this memorial takes form as follows:

“1. That we strongly favor reciprocal Free Trade between Canada and the United States in all horticultural, agricultural and animal products, spraying

materials, fertilizers, illuminating, fuel and lubricating oils, cement, fish and lumber.

"2. Reciprocal free trade between the two countries in all agricultural implements, machinery, vehicles and parts of each of these; and in the event of a favorable arrangement being reached, it be carried into effect through the independent action of the respective governments, rather than by the hard and fast requirements of a treaty.

"3. We also favor the principle of the British preferential tariff, and urge an immediate lowering of the duties on all British goods to one-half the rates charged under the general tariff schedule, whatever that may be; and that any trade advantages given the United States in reciprocal trade relations be extended to Great Britain.

"4. For such further gradual reduction of the remaining preferential tariff as will ensure the establishment of complete free trade between Canada and the Motherland within ten years.

"5. That the farmers of this country are willing to face direct taxation

in such form as may be advisable to make up the revenue required under new tariff conditions.

"Believing that the greatest misfortune which can befall any country is to have its people huddled together in great centres of population, and that the bearing of the present customs tariff has the tendency to encourage that condition, and realizing also that in view of the constant movement of our people away from the farms, the greatest problem which presents itself to Canadian people today is the problem of retaining our people on the soil, we come doubly assured of the justice of our petition.

"Trusting this memorial may meet your favorable consideration, and that the substance of its prayer be granted with all reasonable despatch.

On behalf of the Canadian Council of Agriculture.

(Sgd.) D. W. McCUAIG, President.

(Sgd.) E. C. DEURY, Secretary.

I will first call upon Mr. J. W. Scallion, honorary president of the Manitoba Grain Growers' Association, and a member of the Canadian Council of Agriculture.

## Mr. Scallion's Address

Mr. Scallion:—To the Right Honorable Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Prime Minister of Canada; the Members of the Government and the Members of the House of Commons—

This delegation, representing the agricultural interests of Canada and the great body of the common people, desire to congratulate you, Sir Wilfrid, on your attaining your sixty-ninth birthday, and trust that you will continue to receive expressions of kindness and good will from all over the Empire on the recurrence of many such occasions in the future. We wish to thank you, Sir Wilfrid, for having afforded us this opportunity of presenting to you and your cabinet ministers, and the members of parliament present at this meeting, the farmers' views and desires with respect to our protective tariff and other questions of vital importance to the agricultural and general interests of the country.

### Tariff a Burden

Our protective tariff is felt to be a great burden upon the agricultural industry of Canada, and upon the great

body of consumers of protected commodities. When the tariff commission held meetings of enquiry throughout the country, some five years ago, the farmers made their position on the tariff very clear; they wanted no protection for their own industry and strongly urged that the tariff be reduced to a revenue basis. They hold that opinion today more strongly, if possible, than they did then. They are willing to meet the requirements of a tax framed to cover the public expenditure of the Dominion, the proceeds from which, less cost of collection, will go wholly into the public treasury. But they strongly protest against the further continuance of a tariff which taxes them for the special benefit of private interests. They regard such a tariff as unsound in principle, unjust and oppressive in its operation, and nothing short of a system of legalized robbery. Prices for the produce of the farm are fixed in the markets of the world by supply and demand; and free competition when these products are exported, and the export price fixes the price for home consumption, while the supplies for the farm are purchased in a restricted

market where prices are fixed by combinations of manufacturers and other business interests operating under the shelter of our protective tariff. Such a fiscal system is manifestly unjust and should be abolished.

### Protectionist Claims

It is claimed by the advocates of protection that the system furnishes a home market at good prices for the produce of the farm, and therefore is a compensation to farmers for having to pay higher for their supplies. But when it is considered that during the fiscal year ending 31st March last, markets had to be found in foreign countries for \$115,000,000 worth of the produce of our farms, including animals and their products and that our exports of such products will largely increase as time goes on, for our great West is only beginning to show its capabilities for the production of hundreds of millions of bushels of grain, and hundreds of thousands of live stock and other produce, and that the export price fixes the price for home consumption, the argument of a home market can only be regarded as a joke.

### Reciprocity

No trade arrangements which the Canadian government could enter into with any country would meet with greater favor or stronger support from the farmers of this country, than a wide measure of reciprocal trade with the United States. Such a trade arrangement, including manufactured articles and the natural products of both countries would give the Canadian farmer a larger and more profitable market in which to sell a great deal of their produce, and a cheaper market in which to buy a large quantity of their supplies. This statement can be verified by a comparison of prices in both countries for years. The prices for grain, live stock and dairy produce under normal conditions are much higher in the States than on this side of the line. The importance of an extension of our trade with the United States has been recognized time and again by our statesmen, who, on several occasions endeavored to secure a wider measure of reciprocal trade with that country. Until quite recently the United States government was not favorable to the extension of freer trade relations with other countries. That policy did not apply to Canada particularly, as some of our opponents of reciprocity would have us believe, but was the policy of the United States toward all nations. A political party, pledged to a high tariff has held power in the United States almost continuously since the Civil War, when the high tariff was adopted for the

purpose of meeting that war debt and the powerful corporate and private interests which came into existence and developed under that tariff, and because of it, have continued to exercise such control over public men and legislation in that country as to be able to prevent any successful attempts to lower the tariff or enter into freer trade relations with other countries. But a change has taken place in public opinion in the United States. The president has asked our government to enter into negotiations for the purpose of bringing about freer trade relations between the two countries. This action of the president has been backed up by the people of the United States in the recent elections in that country. Negotiations between the two governments looking to the extension of trade between the two countries have begun.

### Meet U. S. Half Way

This delegation, representing the agricultural interests of Canada, strongly urges our government to meet the United States half way, and secure as large a measure of reciprocal trade in manufactured articles and the natural products of both countries as possible. Farmers are aware that a general lowering of our protective tariff and reciprocity with the United States will be strongly opposed by the united strength of the protected interests which have grown wealthy and powerful under our protective system. Already their special pleaders among the public press and in public life are pointing out the dangers to Canadian interests and to British connection, of a treaty of reciprocity with the United States. Our shipping interests will be ruined, our great transportation systems will be destroyed, the quality of our grain will be lowered, in fact general ruin will overtake us, all of which, of course is very alarming to those people, but which only exists and is conjured up in the imagination of the pleaders for special privilege. These pleaders have no warrant for such statements. This is clearly shown from the fact that our trade with the United States for the last fiscal year amounted to about \$350,000,000, nearly equal to our trade with all other countries combined. Is not that a valuable trade and of great mutual benefit to both countries? Are there any apparent dangers to the general interests of Canada from that trade? And if not, why should its extension be not regarded as a great benefit to both countries. We have made trade arrangements with France, with Germany, and other smaller countries, which is all very well as far as it goes. We have subsidized transportation companies to promote such trade. Then why should we not endeavor

to enlarge our trade with the 90,000,000 of people right at our own door who afford us the greatest market of any country in the world—a market that will grow as the population of that country increases.

It is stated that in entering into reciprocal trade with the United States, vested rights must be protected, meaning, of course, the rights of our protected manufacturers, but when the policy of protection was adopted by the Canadian people, it was with the understanding that as soon as the protected industries had time to develop and become firmly established, protection would be withdrawn and the people relieved from further taxation for the benefit of private interests. We think that protection should have been removed years ago, and we think that now, in the framing of a fiscal system intended to do justice to every interest in the

matter of taxation, that so-called vested rights founded and developed upon a system of unfair and unjust legal exactions from the great body of the people, should be given no consideration whatever.

We are in favor of an increase to 50 per cent. of the British Preference on all imports from Britain, and favor a further increase from time to time until the duty on British imports is entirely abolished. We do not regard with favor the suggested appointment of a tariff commission. All that such a commission could find out with regard to the effects of the tariff upon the different industries and interests of the great body of the people is already well known. What is wanted is a general lowering of the tariff without any unnecessary delay. I beg to submit this statement to the government for its early and earnest consideration.

Mr. McCuaig:—I will now call upon Mr. E. C. Drury, Master of the Dominion Grange of Ontario, and Secretary of the Canadian Council of Agriculture.

## Mr. Drury's Address

Mr. Drury:—The Right Honorable Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Prime Minister of Canada; the Members of the Government and the Members of the House of Commons—

In presenting this memorial on the question of the tariff, a memorial prepared and unanimously endorsed by the largest and most representative congress of farmers ever held in the Dominion of Canada, representing every province, and nearly every phase of agriculture from the Atlantic to the Rocky Mountains, I wish to assure you that we do not approach the question with any ill-feeling towards our manufacturers; nor with any undue regard to our own interests, but with the firm belief that the justice we demand is in the best interests, not only of Canadian agriculture, but of our young nation as a whole.

There can be no question that our greatest national asset, both material and social, is found in the farms of our country. Our agricultural resources are our greatest national gifts, an asset that with proper management under an intelligent and prosperous farm population will increase, rather than decrease in value from year to year, forming a firm and enduring basis of national well-being. Our farm homes, with their great possibilities for good, physically, intelligently and morally, must always be a most important factor in our national life, while a sturdy, pros-

perous, and contented farming class must always be our best safeguard against invasion from without or decay from within.

There can be no questioning the fact that agriculture is not prospering in Canada as it should at the present time. It is customary in certain quarters to refer to the lack of intelligence and enterprise among the farmers themselves as the cause of this condition. This, however, is not entirely in accord with the facts. No class in the country has shown itself more thrifty or industrious, more willing to take advantage of every opportunity to learn and apply improved methods, or more ready to adapt itself to changed conditions. The simple facts must be faced that, in spite of these things, agriculture has failed to hold its own. Agricultural population has steadily decreased for the last thirty years in every province east of Manitoba, while even in the Western provinces, town population has increased at a faster rate than that of the farms. It is useless to point to the settling of the West as the cause of the Eastern decrease. That has no doubt been contributory, but cannot account for the greater part of the decrease. It is equally useless to suggest the use of improved machinery as a possible cause. That largely explains rural depopulation under such conditions as prevail in England where agriculture

was fully developed before the introduction of labor-saving machinery and where every piece of improved machinery displaced human labor on the farms. In Canada the case is entirely different. Simultaneously with the introduction of improved machinery, has come the specialization of agriculture, calling for more men in our dairy, fruit and mixed farming, even with improved machinery than were ever required under the old conditions of grain farming. We must attribute these movements of population, disastrous as they must prove to our national well-being, to the effect of a tariff which encourages city industries at the expense of agriculture.

The farmers of Canada do not ask for any tariff favors. We realize clearly that these can be of little value to us. Practical farmers, engaged in nearly all the varied lines of agriculture, and prominent in these lines, will follow me and give their testimony to the truth of this statement. We do, however, ask to be relieved of the burdens imposed upon us by a protective tariff which prevents foreign competition, and allows our manufacturers to raise their prices above those which would exist under free competition. That they do so raise them, in most cases to the full extent allowed by the tariff, is very plain. The artificial burden thus imposed on the farmer is very considerable, and is quite sufficient to account for the decrease in rural population.

Protection is no longer needed to encourage infant industries, and in many cases, the present tariff actually works to discourage the expansion of manufacturing by encouraging the formation of combines whose interest it is to keep the market understocked and which offer a far more terrible competition to a concern outside the combine, than it could possibly find under free trade conditions. Our anti-combine law is no remedy for this condition because of the difficulty, without incurring heavy expenses, of gathering sufficient evidence to establish a *prima facie* case, even where we are sure a combine exists. Besides, there is little doubt that our manufacturing concerns, many of them very dropsical, are in many

cases, paying unduly large dividends. I am speaking of conditions on which the public can get but little light, but what little light has been shed on the question shows this statement to be true. In at least one case, a government blue-book is responsible for the statement that one large concern engaged in an industry which has been one of our most persistent beggars for tariff favors, was able to declare a dividend of fifty per cent. on the cost of its common stock, in the same year that it issued a circular complaining of lack of prosperity due to insufficient tariff protection. We believe this is not an isolated case.

Under these circumstances, we appeal to you to right a condition which we believe to be not only unjust to our industry, but injurious to our national well-being. Our demands have received the fullest consideration, and we are prepared to urge them most strongly. We believe them reasonable and we hope for early action in the direction of granting our desires.

In asking that every means consistent with our national honor be taken to secure free trade with our southern neighbor in agricultural products and implements, we believe we are not unjust to our manufacturers of implements. The greater competition in farm implements and the wider markets in farm products, must prove of the greatest advantage to our farmers, both East and West.

In the increased British preference, with ultimate free trade with England, we look for relief from the general tariff burden. To this proposal we hope for little opposition from our manufacturers, since it gives them an opportunity to show in a practical form, what their much vaunted loyalty to the Empire amounts to.

In closing, I would wish to impress upon you the fact that there is no division of feeling between the farmers of the East and West on the Tariff question. This delegation, and the convention preceding it, prove conclusively that the East and West are entirely one on this great question.

Mr. McCuaig:—I will now call upon Mr. Thos. McMillan, of Seaforth, Ont., representing the Dominion Grange of Ontario.

## Mr. McMillan's Address

Mr. McMillan:—To the Right Honorable Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the Members of the Government, and the Members of the House of Commons—

In offering a few remarks upon the bearing of the provisions of the present

customs tariff and the amendments contained in the changes proposed in the prayer of our petition, I do so from the standpoint of the general Ontario farmer engaged in the live stock



industry in connection with a system of mixed farm husbandry.

Although for years the Ontario farmer has borne the burden of the injurious effect of the Canadian customs tariff, yet the fact remains that any enactment of a government which perpetuates an injustice upon the great body of the people will move down. The people may rest under the injustice for a time, but even without further provocation the dissatisfaction bursts forth again.

The actual effect of this present tariff has not only been to take a margin of millions out of the pockets of the great body of the people and place those millions into the hands of a few, but it also acts as a serious handicap upon the operations of the agriculturist. As that petition truly sets forth, the farmer bears no feeling of antipathy towards any other line of industrial life. He welcomes within our border every legitimate form of industrial effort, but why should agriculture be called, as it is under the tariff, to pay tribute to any other form of industry? The farmer is being told continually that he should not complain; that our manufacturers employ the workmen who furnish a great home market for his products, but the fact remains that, from the testimony of the manufacturers themselves, in several lines it would pay the people of Canada well to take the margin which this customs tariff causes them to pay, and with it pension the workmen in those lines to the full extent of the wages they receive, and they would still have money to the good.

#### No Favors Asked

We come before you asking no favors, but we claim that agriculture should, under the tariff, be placed upon an equal footing with the other industrial enterprises of the land. If this petition were to ask that the agricultural industry be allowed its supplies of raw material either free or at the lowest possible rates of duty, it would only be asking that agriculture be allowed to share one-half the privileges which, for thirty years, have, under the provisions of the tariff, been enjoyed by many lines of manufacturing industry.

Why do I say so? Study the provisions of the tariff and, on the one hand, we find that it gives the manufacturers a margin of all the way from 15 to 35 per cent. on their goods as against foreign competition in the home market. As against that margin of profit we ask nothing. We are willing, in the

sale of our products, to meet the open competition of the world.

Study the other side of the tariff and we find that at every convenient time manufacturers are given their raw materials either free or at the lowest possible rates of duty. That is right. We fully endorse the action of your government in this respect. But why should agriculture be debarred from sharing the same privileges, which, in this respect, our manufacturers enjoy? Surely it is not because in your estimation the agriculture of Canada is a secondary industry! Mark you, gentlemen, we do not for a moment insinuate that you would deliberately sit down and frame a tariff which would burden this all-important industry. We know something of this cause. We are proud of the good work which Mr. Fisher and the department of agriculture have done in bringing to such full perfection our transportation equipment, and we are only sorry that our hampered condition prevents our reaping its advantages to the fullest degree. The situation of the agriculturist of Canada is such that on the one hand we find our departments of agriculture, both local and federal, insisting that we farm more intensively, underdrain our lands, till our soil better, keep more live stock and employ more labor, while on the other hand we find upon the statute books of our country a statutory provision which has the effect of seriously reducing our margin of profit, taking our labor away from us and piling our people together in great centres of population.

#### Willing to Compete

The farmer is willing to meet any legitimate competition in the labor markets of the country. He does not wish to underpay his workmen. His desire is to remunerate them well. But when he is compelled to face a statutory provision which takes from him a margin of millions, and those millions are employed in competing with him for his own farm labor, he cannot stand an unjust competition such as that. As the result of those conditions, farm labor has now become so very scarce that the labor of the farm cannot be properly accomplished; the general farmer of today sees nothing ahead but continuous toil. His family becomes dissatisfied. The constant tendency is to leave the old homestead, and as a final result in some of the fairest portions of Ontario, we find almost as much farm property for sale as at any previous period in our history.

When we are face to face with conditions such as these, when we see the sturdy yeomanry of Ontario gradually deserting the farms, when we know that the greatest misfortune which can befall any country is to have its people huddled together in great centres of population, and that the bearing of this present customs tariff has the tendency to encourage that condition, is it not the bounden duty of the government to endeavor to make all the conditions surrounding agriculture as favorable as they possibly can?

In endorsing the prayer of that petition we believe that if a favorable reciprocal trade arrangement can be obtained with the government of the United States whereby animals and their products as well as all agricultural produce would be allowed free access to those great consuming centres, it would certainly give a great impetus to the agricultural industry. The progressive farmer of today must be a manufacturer in the truest sense of the term. He must be a manufacturer of high class products, such as highly finished live stock of all kinds, beef, bacon, mutton, poultry, eggs and cream, butter and cheese.

#### American Prices Better

Study the American live stock markets and we find that the best beef animals as a general rule sell from at least \$1 to \$1.50 per cwt. more than our prices in Toronto. None of that high class beef is shipped abroad. It is all consumed by the wealthier classes at home. Ontario farmers are able to compete with the world in the production of high class beef, and if we could obtain access to that great market we would be able to enter the best market of the world, which lies right at our very door. We would not then be, as we are now, practically shut out of our markets for six months of the year by

the long overland railway journey which precedes the ocean voyage to the British market. In short, it would do more for the beef cattle industry in Ontario than all the government enactment of a generation. In the other products I have named, speaking generally (with the exception of live hogs which often rule about the same), prices are invariably higher than in our own Canadian markets. Prominent men, in their ignorance of the real requirements of an advancing agriculture, have described these articles as but "the minor products" of the farm, but, gentlemen, I want to impress upon you the fact that these productions constitute the very right arm of a permanently successful agriculture.

Turning to the increased preference which we desire to give to the goods of Great Britain, we do not carry our loyalty upon our lips but hasten, in a practical way, to show our gratitude for the open door of the splendid treatment which we have always received at the hands of the Mother Land. As farmers and workmen ourselves, we would scorn to ask that any burden be placed upon our fellow workers of the British Isles by even suggesting that the bread of her laboring men should be taxed for our benefit.

In conclusion, gentlemen, let me say we resent the insinuation that trading with our American cousins will render us less loyal citizens of Canada and the Empire. Any person who thinks that the loyalty of the Canadian people is nothing better than simply a commercial commodity to be bartered away, very much under-estimates the temper and spirit of true Canadianism. Let us trade where and with whomsoever we may. There are no people on the face of this globe today who, if occasion demanded, would manifest a truer and a nobler national spirit than the free people who find their homes on the face of Canadian soil.

Mr. McCuaig:—I will now call upon Col. J. Z. Fraser, of Burford, Ont., to address you.

### Col. Fraser's Address

Col. Fraser:—The Right Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the Members of the Government, and the Members of the House of Commons—

I have the honor to reside in the western portion of Ontario that is noted for its varied productions of agriculture, such as grains of all kinds,

potatoes, turnips, horses, cattle, sheep and lambs, hogs, butter, cheese and eggs. And situated as we are, surrounded on three sides by United States territory, with its large cities directly on or near our borders, with a large consuming population of the products I have named, the advantages of recip-

rocal trade relations with the United States are so apparent that it is almost needless on my part to make any statement to that effect, the price of the articles I have named being, with few exceptions, at all times in excess of the prices prevailing on our side of the line.

Treating on the question of turnips, I have frequently seen paid in customs and freight dues nearly four dollars for every one dollar paid the producer. That is only one of the many like instances I could enumerate. It is no wonder then that the farming interests in my district are depressed, that the bailiff's business is largely on the increase, that the merchants are unable to collect their bills and that the general conditions of the farmer call loudly and piteously for a change. The conditions as outlined in the contemplated changes in the tariff would, I believe, largely eliminate the existing conditions and place on a sound foundation our agricultural interests, on whose prosperity the condition of all classes so much depends.

Our large immigration which we are at present enjoying with the enormous

influx of capital which accompanies it, together with the vast expenditure of monies on public works, by Dominion, provincial and municipal governments, prevents for the time being these conditions being fully felt, but let a period of depression occur, which is not only possible but probable, and a condition of affairs will soon result which will be appalling.

We have nothing but the kindest of feelings for our manufacturers, but we fully realize that a policy that has robbed our province of 100,000 of its rural population in 25 years makes the situation so grave that relief must come and come speedily ere it is too late, and we have forever destroyed a yeomanry, the finest that history, either ancient or modern, has ever known.

I will say no more. Lengthy discussion will do no good; the facts are so apparent that a child of tender years understands the situation. How much more then must it appeal to you as intelligent men. I therefore trust that you will, if possible, avail yourselves of the opportunities afforded by the contemplated offer which is likely to be afforded you.

Mr. McCuaig:—I shall now call upon Mr. M. B. Fawcett, of Sackville, New Brunswick, representing the New Brunswick Farmers' Association.

## Mr. Fawcett's Address

Mr. Fawcett:—To the Right Honorable Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Prime Minister of Canada; the Members of the Government and the Members of the House of Commons—

I only wish to add a word for New Brunswick and to say, if a treaty can be obtained that will give our natural products free access to the American markets it will immensely benefit our chief industry, agriculture, as well as several others, scarcely less important to our province. Farm production with us in most lines has made serious losses for many years past, especially in live stock. The value of our improved farms has generally decreased. Even the best dyke lands in my own county are worth less than formerly. And our provincial government is expending considerable money in attempts to re-people our abandoned farms with British immigrants. But the abandonment of other farms goes on just the same.

The feeling is becoming very general that the protective tariff in force now, as well as in the past, is largely responsible for this retrogression. Under such a tariff manufacturers are not only enabled to outbid farmers in the matter of hired labor, but to impose unreasonable prices on practically everything required to operate a farm. Our soil and climate favor the extensive and profitable growing of fruit, and nearly every farm crop common to Canada. Even under the adverse conditions so long existing, we are producing a considerable surplus of potatoes, turnips, hay, and dairy products, and our farmers would receive a direct and immediate benefit from reciprocity.

To illustrate briefly I may mention myself; and say, that free access to the American market with my own hay crop, would make me a net gain annually of \$360.00; and on my strawberry crop, \$200.00, counting only one half the duty imposed by the United States tariff and I am only one of many.

Mr. McCuaig:—I shall now call upon Mr. Jos. E. Johnston, representing the Fruit Growers of Norfolk, Ontario.

## Mr. Johnston's Address

Mr. Johnston:—Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Gentlemen—

In supporting the unanimous opinion of this delegation in favor of reciprocity with the United States in all agricultural produce, I may offer a few explanations as to how it would affect the interests of our Canadian Fruit Growers, and particularly our growers of apples. The district I represent is yearly becoming more largely engaged in orcharding. In this, as in many other sections of Canada, the apple business is being rapidly improved by co-operation of the growers in the care of their orchards and the marketing of their fruit. The recognized superior quality of our fruit guarantees that with expert methods we can more than hold our own in open markets. In the County of Norfolk we have a co-operative association engaged in the handling of apples. This association was organized five years ago, and in 1910, even with the short crop, it sold nine times the quantity of fruit handled in the first year it was organized. The prospects for further development of the apple business in Ontario, under the co-operative system, are very bright indeed.

But while the business of apple growing is profitable today, its extension would be promoted by the opening of wider markets. The republic to the south, with a population of ninety millions or so, and a rapidly growing demand for all kinds of food products, would be an excellent additional market for our fruit. Even in the face of the duty prevailing, the shipments from our association this past year to the United

States were 6,000 barrels, while 25,000 barrels went to the Northwest and 5,000 barrels to England and Scotland. Had there been free trade in apples we would have been able to sell our whole crop 50 cents a barrel better than we did. There are varieties of apples, such as Greenings, Bellflower and Talman Sweets, which are not wanted at all in the Northwest but are readily taken at a good price in the United States. Apart from this there are localities in Canada which could import American fruit to advantage and, many sections in the United States which could use our fruit to even greater advantage. In years of scarcity the Canadian West would like to draw upon the Pacific coast fruit more largely than it does while in seasons of heavy production we would be greatly benefitted by an additional market. This illustrates the advantage of reciprocity.

At present the Canadian apple grower is discriminated against. The United States tariff on apples is 75 cents a barrel, while American apple growers shipping into Canada have to pay only 40 cents a barrel duty. This is unfair and I respectfully ask, on behalf of Canadian fruit growers, that you, as representatives of the Canadian people, will endeavor in any reciprocal trade negotiations to have the American fruit tariff lowered to at least the same figure as the Canadian tariff. Further than this we would welcome and request a complete withdrawal of all duties on apples entering either country. Reciprocity in apples would benefit consumer and producer alike.

Mr. McCuaig:—I shall now call upon Mr. S. C. Parker, of Berwick, Nova Scotia, Secretary of the Nova Scotia Fruit Growers' Association.

## Mr. Parker's Address

Mr. Parker:—To the Right Honorable Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Prime Minister of Canada; the Members of the Government and the Members of the House of Commons—

I have the honor to speak for the fruit-growing interests of Nova Scotia. Our industry is rapidly growing; with increasing production we see the importance of as wide a distribution as possible. We

are convinced that a fair measure of reciprocal trade with our neighbor at the south would be of immense advantage to all our horticultural interests. Of even more importance is our trade with Great Britain. That country is our best customer and any preference looking toward increase of trade with the Mother Country, will certainly improve our industrial condition.

Mr. McCuaig:—I shall now call upon Mr. Robt. Sellar, of Huntingdon, Quebec, to speak on behalf of the stockbreeders and dairymen of Quebec.

## Mr. Sellar's Address

Mr. Sellar:—Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Sir Richard Cartwright, gentlemen—These farmers you see before you are not like people from any other industrial class. They work with the Almighty: they produce in partnership with Him. And when they have garnered their products, when they have raised by infinite labor and patient skill what they have to sell in order that they may live, is it just that part of that production shall be taken by any other class away from them? It is not a mere matter of favor that we come to ask of you today, it is a matter of justice. Are all these men who fill these galleries forever to go on toiling and forever to pay tribute to some other favored class or not? They are not come here in vain. These men have travelled over 2,000 miles some of them to lay their case before you, and I will tell you this, Sir Wilfrid, they have unfurled a banner which will not be furled again until they have attained their end. (loud applause.)

### Protect the Women

I was in the house last night and I heard a lovely young man plead the cause of the men who work for the government that they should not work more than eight hours a day. He should learn, Sir, that this morning thousands of delicate women had to leave their beds before daylight and go out to cold stables and milk the cows. I am informed by those who have studied the question that

every farmer pays from \$100 to \$300 a year in protective duties. That may not seem much in the eyes of the monopolists, but \$100 to a farmer is worth a thousand to any other class; and I ask if that \$100 or \$200 was left for the farmer would it not give more ease to his family, are there not thousands of women who are on these lonesome prairies who could with that money make life more agreeable to themselves and their families?

### Will Have Justice

We say these men are not going to submit any longer to pay tribute to any other class. They are not going to be put off. They come here for justice and justice they will have. (Cheers.)

And, Sir, in saying this these men are loyal. We do not ask for defense against our neighbors. We do not say that loyalty consists of slighting our neighbors to the south: we say that loyalty is deep in the bosoms of these people, and that they would die for the Motherland before they would see themselves oppressed. (Applause.)

I merely plead that these men will have justice; that they will go back to their farms feeling that they have made themselves felt in the Dominion which every one of them loves, and that this cause is not going to rest now, but that it will go on until the banner that they unfurled yesterday will be planted on the ruins of protectionism. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. McCuaig:—I shall now call upon Mr. R. McKenzie, Secretary of the Manitoba Grain Growers' Association, and a member of the Canadian Council of Agriculture.

## Mr. McKenzie's Address

Mr. McKenzie:—To the Right Honorable Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Prime Minister of Canada; the Members of the Government and the Members of the House of Commons—

When the people of Canada adopted the principle of protection in their customs tariff of 1873 it was with the clear understanding that when the protected industries had had time to develop and get firmly established, the protection would be withdrawn and the

people relieved of any further taxation for the benefit of industry. The election of 1896 was largely decided on this issue and the people returned to power a government committed to the elimination of the protective principle from the tariff and the placing of our customs duty on a purely revenue basis. Although the tariff schedule of 1897 afforded some relief, the farmers of Canada were disappointed in the measure of relief afforded by it. Under the

impression that the expected reduction was not abandoned by the government, but only postponed, they deferred making any strong objection. The revision of 1907 largely disabused their minds in this respect, and, notwithstanding the strong representation made to the tariff commission which investigated the operation of the tariff previous to the revision of 1907, the schedule resulting, although providing for a small reduction in a few items, worked out, upon the whole, to afford more protection to the manufacturing industries.

#### Farmers Get Little

The tariff schedule of 1907 contains 711 items, 221 of which are free. Of these free items, farmers get the benefit of free binder twine, cream separators and corn for feeding purposes. Practically all the other free items are raw material used by manufacturers in their manufactories. In addition to that, since the revision of 1907 some twenty items have been placed on the free list, and the duty reduced on thirteen others by order-in-council. Practically all these reductions have been on raw materials used by manufacturers. As farmers we do not object to the principle of permitting raw material used by manufacturers to be imported free of duty. We believe that it is sound and that the best interests of the community are served by permitting the manufacturer to get his raw material where he can get it cheapest, free from restrictions of any kind. But we do object to a tariff which, while giving them this just privilege permits them to levy unjustly a heavy tribute off the people who use their goods, by the higher prices they are enabled to charge through the power given them by the customs tariff.

#### Protection Arguments

Advocates of protection base their contentions on the ground:

1. That the levying of customs duties is the best method of collecting revenue to meet the requirements of government;
2. That it affords labor for wage-earners, thus providing maintenance for centres of population in towns and cities.

The method which has hitherto been pursued in this country of collecting revenue through customs duties, by virtue of which one group of individuals is placed in a position where they can levy toll upon their neighbors, is inherently unsound. It is so, because

it destroys the balance of equity in taxation. "By virtue of what principle will you tax the farmer in order to give work to the working man? On what principle will you tax the working man in order to give better prices to the farmer?"—Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

#### Minister's Statements

Sir Richard Cartwright, than whom there is no better authority in Canada on statistics and fiscal questions, is credited with making the statement, in 1893, that "If you add together the sum that has been paid into the treasury and the largest sum that has been extracted from the pockets of the people for the benefit of a few private and favored individuals, you will find that the total for the last fourteen years is hardly less than \$1,000,000,000."

You, Sir (Sir Wilfrid Laurier), have also been credited with a statement made about the same time, that "For every dollar that goes into the Dominion treasury, two or three dollars go into the pockets of the manufacturers," and almost every farmer in Canada will agree with you in this statement, even if some of them differ with you upon other public questions.

#### Manufacturers' Gains

According to the census of 1906 there were agricultural implements manufactured in Canada in the year previous to the value of \$12,835,745, of which \$2,342,826 worth were exported, leaving for home consumption \$10,492,919. There were imported that year \$1,593,914 worth of implements, on which the government collected a duty to the extent of 20 per cent., or \$318,782. It is now conceded that the manufacturer adds to the selling price of his commodity the total amount of the protection granted him by the customs duty. The farmers of Canada thus paid the government that year \$318,782 and to the manufacturers of farming implements \$2,098,383.

Of leather we used of domestic manufacture \$13,394,416 worth; we imported \$901,197 worth, on which we paid a duty to the government of \$157,709, and through enhanced prices paid the manufacturers \$2,344,022.

Boots and shoes manufactured in Canada amounted to \$20,264,686. We imported \$1,178,749 worth, on which we paid the government a duty of \$353,600, and paid the manufacturers \$6,079,405.

Cement, an article that is now being used very extensively in Canada, practically every farmer who does any

building making use of it to some extent, carries protection to the extent of 33-1-3 per cent. In 1909 there was manufactured in Canada \$5,266,008 worth of cement. We imported \$475,676 worth, on which the government collected a duty of \$159,077, and we paid the Canadian merger that controls the manufacture of that article \$1,755,336.

The same thing applies to woollens, cottons, cutlery, but why go further?

On these several items enumerated above alone the people pay a revenue to the government of \$989,168, and the very large sum of \$12,277,146 into the treasury of the manufacturers of these commodities. The taxes paid by the people on those commodities are approximately in the following proportion: For every \$100 farmers are taxed by reason of the customs duty on agricultural implements, the government gets \$14 and the manufacturer \$86. On cement the government gets \$8 and the manufacturer gets \$92. On boots and shoes the government gets \$6 and the manufacturers \$94. On leather the government receives \$6 and the manufacturer \$94.

#### No Competition Now

In the early days of the National policy the taxes imposed by the customs duty were modified to some extent by competition between domestic manufacturers. Of recent years they have practically eliminated that competition by the formation of mergers. The different companies engaged in the same line of manufacture have been ab- January, 1900, twenty industrial amalgamations have been consummated in Canada, absorbing one hundred and thirty-five individual companies. While in each case the capitalization of the merged concern is very much larger than the total capital of the absorbed companies, it is rarely that any of this additional capital enters into the business of the new concern. The huge capitalization enables the organization concerned to conceal from the general public, in a measure, the large tribute they are enabled to impose on the consumers of their manufactured goods by reason of the customs duty. The argument is frequently made that the government must maintain the present high customs duty in order to protect capital invested in manufacturing industries. In other words, capital invested in agriculture must, by statute, be compelled to pay tribute to capital invested in manufacturing industries. On what principle of justice can a gov-

ernment give a man who invests \$100,000 in any industry the privilege of levying a tax on ten men who invest \$10,000 each in land to develop the natural wealth of the country? It is often said by advocates of the protective tariff system that we must maintain a customs duty in order to encourage capital to come to Canada. This policy, maintained by our government since 1878 has had a most detrimental effect on the development of agriculture and the investment of capital in the production of farm crops, and it is yearly becoming more apparent, due to the fact that money invested in industrial and other securities yields a greater revenue than that invested in the industry of agriculture, that many of our most progressive farmers are disposing of their farms to come and live in the towns and cities, investing the proceeds of the sale of their land in other securities, endeavoring to supplement this by entering into competition with wage-earners in those centres of population.

#### Farming Does Not Pay

According to the census of 1901 the total capital invested in the agricultural industry was \$1,787,102,630, not including working capital; that is, capital used. After deducting the charge of labor and rent, the surplus for the year's operations is placed at \$331,542,546, or 18.55 per cent. of the capital invested, allowing nothing for the working capital, the farmers' own labor, or that of the members of his family, or his raw material. Had the wages of the farmer and the adult members of his family been reckoned at the usual wage of a day laborer there would have been nothing left for interest on this very large capital. On the other hand, the industry of manufacturing invested, including the working capital, a total of \$446,916,487. After allowing for the cost of raw material, the rent of offices and work, the cost of wages, salary, power, heat, fuel, light, taxes, totalling \$392,475, the surplus. Speaking for the West, I have plus netted 19.82 per cent. of that capital no hesitation in saying that this economic condition seriously affects progress in the development of farm lands. In the older districts where land has made a rapid advance in price, farmers are disposing of their holdings, moving into the towns and investing the proceeds of their sale as indicated above. In the majority of cases, although there are exceptions, the purchasers of these farms have only a

limited capital and frequently the largest proportion of the purchase money is carried on a mortgage. The increased cost of living and of conducting his operations, due to the exactions of a protective tariff, so disables him that there are often seasons when he can pay no more than his interest on this principal, which condition denies him the opportunity of material comfort, culture and education that by right belong to him as much as to anyone else, besides preventing him from improving his holdings.

#### Farms Being Deserted

The census of 1906 shows that in 1905 there were 122,398 farms in the provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta. The reports of the department of the interior indicate that up to the 30th of June, 1905, 199,978 homestead entries were made, and that year 112,779 patents were issued. In addition to this, for the three years previous to 1905, 72,129 entries were made for homesteads, indicating that of the homestead entries and patents issued up until 1905, 62,000 have either disposed of their patents or did not take possession of their homesteads. Previous to that date there were disposed of, by railway companies and others who had received subsidies of land from the government of Canada, upwards of 11,500,000 acres of land, a percentage of the purchasers of which would be securing the land for the purpose of making a home. So that the number above indicated as abandoning or selling their holding would be very largely increased. During that period, which was one of the most successful periods that the West has ever experienced, the urban population of those three provinces increased in a much larger ratio than the rural population. In 1901 the ratio of urban to the total population was 24.72 per cent., and in 1906 it increased to 30.23 per cent. The ratio of urban to the total population increased more in Manitoba than in the other two provinces; although there was a marked increase in all three. The statement is made that the increase in the urban and the decrease in the farm population in Ontario is largely due to the attractiveness of the fertile soil of the prairie farms, yet, notwithstanding the many and great advantages that the prairie farm has over the farms of the older provinces, and notwithstanding the fact that practically the only resources of these Western provinces are the products of the soil, in the face of all this, the urban popu-

lation is growing more rapidly than the rural. The only logical reason that can be advanced for such an undesirable situation is that owing to the high cost of living and the high cost of the necessary equipment, due very largely to the unjust tariff, the farmer finds it difficult to make ends meet, and seeks to change his calling in the forlorn hope of doing better.

#### Another Fallacy

The other argument that the growth of towns and cities is dependent on manufactures being established in these centres of population is also discredited by the experience of the Western provinces. Practically the only manufactures in those provinces are establishments for the manufacture of food products, slaughter houses and meat packing houses, mills for the manufacture of lumber and timber products, printing and publishing houses, none of which are dependent for their existence on the maintenance of the protective system.

#### Better Pension Manufacturers

The doctrine that manufacturing establishments cannot exist and that cities and towns cannot prosper without protection is untenable. That the fathering care of the National policy has brought into existence manufacturies in Canada may be admitted, but it is also true that industries of that character which have to be bolstered up at the expense of the people, while it may add to the wealth of the individual, adds nothing to the wealth of the nation. The census of 1906 gives the total of the products manufactured in Canada in establishments employing five hands and over as \$706,446,578. The average duty on dutiable imports for 1905 was 27.692 per cent. If we assume that the manufacturers added this to the selling price of their products, amounting to upwards of \$706,000,000, the tribute they collected from the consumers of manufactured goods in Canada was that year upwards of \$190,000,000. The total salary paid by manufacturers in all Canada in 1905 was \$162,155,578, or upwards of \$28,000,000 less than the extra profits they made due to customs duties off the Canadian people on their manufactured product. In other words, if the people of Canada had paid all the salary of the employees of manufacturies for that year, they would still have had \$28,000,000 left to contribute to the revenue of the country from the excess prices they had paid due to the tariff.



But further, the urban population in Canada in 1901 was 2,021,799. Of those there were employed in manufacturing establishments 226,663 men over sixteen years of age; 61,220 women sixteen years and over, and 12,143 children under sixteen years, or a total of 300,026 employees. The rest of the urban population who were engaged in the business of distributing, transporting, financial and other interests were in no way benefitted by protection in customs duties.

### Don't Need Protection

It is a foolish fallacy that our manufacturers in Canada depend for their existence on the continuance of the protective tariff. Our largest and most important industries that are classified as manufactures, such as establishments engaged in the production of food products such as bakeries, butter and cheese factories, flour and grist mills, slaughtering and meat packing establishments, fruit and vegetable canning, and various others which may be regarded as indigenous to Canada, may safely be depended upon as being quite capable of meeting any competition from outside sources if our markets were thrown open.

### Tired of Waiting

As already stated the tariff of 1897 afforded some relief, although the supporters of a lower tariff were disappointed that the reduction had not gone a good deal further. However, they rested on the assurance that a beginning was made and that a decrease in the taxation of customs duties would continue at intervals and that the expected revenue tariff was not to be abandoned by the government, but only postponed. After fourteen years of waiting a careful study of the tariff schedule indicates that due to a constant rise in value that began in 1896 on all classes of dutiable goods the people are now actually paying more duty on the commodities they purchase than in 1896. In the interval farmers and general consumers have been organizing and getting familiar, with the extent of the taxation imposed upon them by the tariff. They have observed that since the revision of 1907 the privileges granted to manufacturers under the customs duty is being extended without any compensating relief to consumers. Many people are leaving the older districts in the other provinces, some getting tired of urban life and many also from older countries are endeavoring to establish themselves on

the Western prairies, the larger proportion of them having very little capital excepting their physical strength, and relying upon the products of their labor to build up for themselves homes on land so generously provided them by the Canadian government, and that, through the exactions of transportation and the oppressive customs tariff the cost of living and maintaining a home is advanced from 25 to 30 per cent. That is to say, that for every dollar's worth of goods the farmer on his homestead has to buy, the customs duty adds from 25 to 30 cents. The staple product of Western farms is wheat, and the purchasing power of a bushel of wheat is reduced 25 per cent. by our fiscal system. The average price of wheat to the Western farmer this year will be approximately 75 cents per bushel. Seventy-five per cent. of the proceeds of the sale of wheat goes towards the purchase of home comforts and to farm improvements, every dollar of which is reduced in value 25 per cent. That is to say that every bushel of wheat we raise is reduced in its purchasing power by fifteen cents on account of the operation of the customs duty.

### Transportation Arguments

An argument that is commonly used is that a customs duty must be maintained in order to provide a revenue for furnishing transportation facilities for the distribution of farm crops, and that it is necessary in order that the government should continue to improve transportation facilities for the handling of the products of the Western prairies, to continue the present customs duty; and that farmers in resisting the imposition of these duties are ungrateful on the ground that all the people of Canada are subject to these customs duties for the special benefit of the farming community in this respect. That the government of Canada has, in the past, expended large sums of money in providing transportation facilities, all readily agree. But it must also be conceded by those who hold the views above stated that the general business of Canada receives just as much benefit from the development incident to providing proper transportation facilities for the newer districts as the farmers. And who derives more benefit from these improved transportation facilities than our manufacturers? Yet we find that they strenuously oppose contributing anything to the revenue from customs duties on the material they import. It is also put forth for an argument that the govern-

ment must continue the customs duty to provide revenue to still further improve the means of transportation from the Western prairies to the seaboard by developing of canals, etc., and the argument is made that by so doing the price of Western grain will be enhanced from  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to 2 cents per bushel, all of which will go to the benefit of the farmers. To us it seems folly to continue a system which, as shown above, reduces the purchasing power of a bushel of wheat 15 cents in order that the government may create conditions which will increase the price of a bushel of wheat from  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to 2 cents.

#### Not a Revenue Tariff

The declared policy of the government is to impose duty for revenue purposes, and that protection is only incidental. The logical inference would be, therefore, that when, through the operation of the customs duty, an article ceased to produce revenue to any extent by reason of the domestic manufacturers getting complete control of the output, the government should remove the protection. And further, since the government imposes customs duties only for the purpose of producing revenue to meet the cost of government, just as soon as there is a material and continued surplus from year to year, the government, if they would follow their declared policy, will reduce the customs duties. Canada has reached that stage now. We have had for several years a very good surplus which this year has been stated by the press to approximate \$30,000,000. Why, inasmuch as the necessities of the revenue do not require the imposition of so much taxation, does the government not carry out this declared policy of reducing the customs duty to the requirements of the revenue?

#### Figuring the Cost

We attach hereto a list showing the revenue produced for the year ending March 31, 1910, on articles which the farmers request to be placed on the free list. You will notice that the total revenue produced by the duty on agricultural implements as shown by the Trade and Navigation returns as "Agricultural Implements n.o.p." amounts to only \$529,299.48. This amount is quite insignificant when compared with the amount which the tariff schedule enables the implement manufacturer to impose on the farmer. The same applies to buggies and carriages. On cutters the revenue produced last year was \$323,65. There are very

large numbers of cutters used in Canada and all of them are increased in value by 35 per cent. on account of this customs duty. On sleighs the duty collected by the government was \$4,539.39. These are articles which every farmer in Canada uses and on which he must pay to the manufacturer an addition in price of 35 per cent.

The same applies to portable engines, threshing machines and wagons. On all farm implements, including buggies, carriages and sleighs, threshing machines, etc., the government collected duty to the amount of \$1,218,983.38.

#### Loss In Revenue

Were all these items enumerated in our resolution placed on the free list, the government would lose, based on the revenue for the year ending March 31, 1910, \$2,500,000, and should the British preference be increased to 50 per cent. the loss to the revenue, based on the importations of the fiscal year ending March 31, 1910, would be approximately \$4,500,000, so that the total amount of revenue lost to the government due to the reduction demanded by the farmers' resolution as set forth above would amount approximately to \$7,500,000. If, as is stated, the surplus this year will amount to \$30,000,000, it would leave a surplus of \$22,500,000, a very respectable amount. So that the proposed reduction would in no way embarrass the government in the conduct of the business of the country.

#### Free Trade With England

Believing, as we do, that the provision for revenue by customs duty is economically and morally wrong, we desire that free trade be established between Britain and Canada in as short a time as possible, without unduly disarranging existing business conditions. We therefore ask that the British Preference be increased all around at the present session to 50 per cent. and that an additional increase of five per cent. each year be given until we have Free Trade between Britain and Canada. We do not ask for any preference in the British market for our products in return, since we regard free trade between Canada and Great Britain as being in the best interest of the development of Canada; nor do we suggest or desire that Britain should tax foreign food stuffs for our benefit. A certain section of the Canadian people loudly proclaim their loyalty and attachment to the British Empire. Apparently their loyalty consists in raising

a tariff wall against British manufacturers that will enable the Canadian manufacturers to impose a tribute on the rest of the Canadian people, and as an offset to the producers of food stuffs in Canada that a tax should be placed by the British people on their food stuffs from foreign lands. In other words their loyalty consists in having the British manufacturer taxed in the interest of the Canadian manufacturer, and the food stuffs of the British artisan taxed for the benefit of the Canadian farmer. Canadian farmers recognize the protection afforded our country by the Motherland and they are willing to do their part in the maintenance of the British Empire by supplying the British people with the food products they require in open competition with any other country in the world. If our own government will relieve the unjust tax upon Canadian farmers by the customs duty, they would be quite able to compete in the British market with any other country in the world in the supply of cereals and farm products.

The adoption of free trade between Canada and Great Britain would necessarily cause a loss to the revenue of a considerable amount, and our resolution suggests that the necessary revenue should be made up by some system of direct taxation.

#### Must Eventually Triumph

In asking for these changes in our customs tariff we believe that we have asked for nothing but what is just and what is in the interest of the best de-

velopment of our country. Our farmers have been the pioneers in the development of the land. They have gone to the frontiers of civilization when the road was dark and discouragements were great. They have struggled against monopoly in many of its phases. They have found it necessary to organize, and have their organization as perfect as possible. The farmers present here today have come at great expense. They have done so because they desire their wishes to be made known at the fountain head where our laws are made. They represent 50,000 of the best farmers of this Dominion and can justly claim to represent the farming industry of this country. We make our requests as reasonable men. Whether they are granted by this parliament or not, the educational work will still go on and the principles we have outlined here must ultimately triumph. Our country is in the infancy of its development. It is our duty, and the duty of the representatives who sit within these halls, to see that special privilege is afforded to none and that our laws are based alone on justice to all. The farmers of Canada desire that the principle underlying our laws should be that contained in the words of one of the greatest Americans of the last century—"That we should do unto others as we would have them do unto us; That we should respect their rights as scrupulously as we would have our rights respected, is not a mere counsel of perfection to individuals, but it is the law to which we must conform social institutions and national policy if we would secure the blessings of abundance and peace."

Mr. McCuaig:—That is the end of our presentation, Sir Wilfrid.

## SIR WILFRID'S REPLY

The following is the verbatim reply  
made by the Premier to the  
Farmers' Delegation

Sir Wilfrid Laurier in replying to the deputation said: Mr. McCuaig and gentlemen of the delegation: Permit me, at the very outset, on behalf of the government and on behalf of parliament on both sides of the House, for which, I think, on this occasion and for this purpose I can speak—

Mr. R. L. Borden, leader of the opposition: Hear, hear.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier:—to express to you the gratification it affords us to see before

us such a representative delegation as we have here, and to acknowledge also the profit with which we have listened to the expression of your views, even if we do not share those views in their entirety. When I came here this morning, I thought we were coming to receive a delegation from the West. But I understand from your remarks that the delegation we have before us represents all the agricultural interests of Canada, of the East as well as of the West.

## The Western Spirit

But you will perhaps permit me to observe that it seems to me that, though the delegation represents the agricultural interests of the whole of Canada, it is the Western spirit which pervades it. I am not surprised at that, nor do I complain of it, because we in the East are prepared for the domination of the West at a very early day. Also, we have always understood that in the West the ideas are far more radical than they are in the East. At least, I have believed so, judging, as I have judged of late and for some time past, by the expressions of opinion which have come to me from all parts of Canada. I think that in this I speak correctly, and that you will not deny the impeachment, if such it be, that, in the West, your ideas are far more advanced than are those of the East. As I say, I do not complain of this but simply place it as a basis of fact. The resolutions you have put before us are certainly impregnated with the Western spirit. Nor do I believe the farmers of the East are prepared to go quite so far as you gentlemen of the West.

You are in favor, as I understand, of the government ownership and operation of all government utilities,—of railways, of abattoirs and of elevators. As to this, I have nothing to say at present.

## Sir Wilfrid's Education

The idea, may, perhaps, be a good one. I understand that you have started a campaign of education, and, perhaps, I may be the first to be educated in that respect, because, up to this time, I have not been an absolutely ardent supporter of government ownership and operation of all public utilities. To government ownership I may be persuaded; to government operation I may be persuaded also, but with greater difficulty. In this, I am a man of the East.

If I am to judge of the importance which you attach to the different resolutions you have placed before us, by the number of speakers who have addressed themselves to each, I conclude that it is to the terminal elevators and to the tariff that you attach the greatest importance. It is these ideas which have received the greatest support of this delegation. I have listened with care to the statements which have been made by the farmers here represented, and the grievances which they have to present, and I am proud to believe that, after all, even though in Canada at present things are not as perfect as they ought to be, still, after all, they are not too bad.

## The Farmers' Wealth

I listened with great interest—as everybody did, I am sure,—to the very admirable paper presented by Mr. Green. If I understood him aright, he stated that the delegation here present represented agricultural wealth in the Western provinces to the amount of at least \$300,000,000. Well, if we reflect that the farmers are here from the Western Prairies and those whom they represent have been in the West, in their present homes, not more, on the average, than twenty years, we cannot but think that, to have accumulated wealth to the amount of \$300,000,000, does not argue a very bad condition of things after all. And we reflect that Mr. Green also stated that the actual accumulated wealth of all the farmers of the Western Prairies is \$1,500,000,000, I still repeat that, though things are not so good as they might be, they are not so very bad.

## Tariff and Reciprocity

And where shall we find things as well as they ought to be? That cannot be found on this planet. And even in Canada, which is, in my opinion, a well-governed country, there is room for improvement, I admit. Now, what is to be the nature of the improvement? With regard to the tariff, you have suggested to us that the first thing we should try to get is a treaty of reciprocity with our neighbors.

Mr. E. C. Drury: I think you are misinformed, Sir Wilfrid, as to the contents of our recommendation. It expressly stated that we do not desire a treaty.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier: I understand that what is proposed is closer commercial relations with our neighbors—whether by treaty or concurrent legislation is another matter;—I suppose you would accept it in the form of a treaty rather than not have it at all. [If what you have in view is better commercial relations with the United States, we are at one with you. I am happy to say that at this moment we are negotiating with the American authorities to do this very thing which you ask for—to improve our commercial relations with our neighbors. But I must say to you that this is not so easy as you may suppose. We are speaking frankly here, and it is not so easy as one of the speakers stated. There is in this country, in some sections of the community, a very strong opposition to any change in our present commercial relations with our neighbors.\* For my part, I do not share this view; my colleagues do not share this view. I think that if we can improve the relation in the direction of having more markets for natural products and farm

products, the country will be immensely benefitted. Let us speak with perfect frankness here, and I would not speak otherwise,—any change in our trade relations with regard to manufactured products is a more difficult matter. There are difficulties in this which no government can ignore; and we are not ignoring them. But, at all events, we see our goal, and in this our goal is very much in your own direction.

### No Tariff Revision

But you go further and say that in this very session we should commence to amend the tariff also. I suggest to you, gentlemen, that as practical legislators it would hardly be advisable for the parliament of Canada to attempt to revise the tariff at all whilst our negotiations are pending with our neighbors. It would hardly be advisable for us. In this I will say no more, but the government is ready to respond fully to the advances that are made to us for reciprocity. I would say this, however, that whatever we do with our neighbors, whatever we may be able to accomplish, nothing we do shall in any way impair or affect the British preference. That is a cardinal part of our policy. The hour is advanced and I cannot give more information on this point at this moment.

### Terminal Elevators

I pass now from the tariff resolution and I come to the question of terminal elevators. Here also I am glad to say that in principle I agree with you. It has been recognized that the farmers in the West have a grievance in the present condition of things which prevail at this moment. Where shall we seek a remedy? My colleague and friend, the minister of trade and commerce, Sir Richard Cartwright, has been giving his attention to this matter and has a bill on the subject already prepared. When I was in the West last summer I stated to the different delegations of the Grain Growers' Association who did me the honor to interview me and my colleagues that we should not submit any legislation to parliament relating to this matter until we had had an opportunity of discussing it with the Grain Growers' Association. Accordingly some time ago I invited the Grain Growers' Associations of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta to send delegates to Ottawa to confer with us so that we might prepare that bill. I am happy to say that they are here today to assist us in the preparation of that legislation.

Now, you say the only remedy available is the government ownership of the terminal elevators at Port Arthur and Fort William. That may be the case; I have no opinion to express at the present time. But I would go farther and ask you if the root of the problem does not go even deeper than you have suggested. I agree altogether with the remarks of Mr. Richardson when he said that what we want is "to keep up the character of our grain in Europe. That is the object we have in view. Will this object be attained by merely looking after the elevators at Port Arthur and Fort William? If the ship loaded at Port Arthur and Fort William could deliver its charge at Liverpool the problem would be solved. You would preserve the character of your grain until it reached the ultimate market, but of course when a ship leaves Port Arthur or Fort William it does not deliver its cargo at Liverpool. It may deliver it at Buffalo, it may deliver it at Port Colbourne. There it has to be unloaded. If it is to go to Montreal it has to be again unloaded and reloaded. The grain may leave perfectly pure from Port Arthur or Fort William but when it goes into the elevator at Buffalo it may be degraded and reach Europe in a considerably changed condition.

### The Premier's Remedy

The problem, therefore, is to look after the character of the grain not only at Port Arthur and Fort William, but down to the very point where the ship is loaded to clear for Liverpool. When the grain is delivered at Buffalo we have no control over it. We hand it over to the control of our American friends. It was stated by Capt. Richardson that the Minnesota operator has transferred his usefulness or want of usefulness to Port Arthur. He could as easily transfer it to Buffalo and do there what he is doing at Port Arthur. But when we can carry our grain in Canada to Montreal and load it on the ship at Montreal and see that it leaves that port as it left Winnipeg we shall have solved the problem. So it comes to this. It will not be sufficient in my humble judgment to look after the elevators at Port Arthur and Fort William, but you must look after the elevators at Port Colbourne and Montreal, where the same operation that is complained of takes place. That is the problem we have before us. That problem will be solved if we can so improve the carriage of grain on the St. Lawrence route that it will not be possible to divert it to American channels. This can be done

only in two ways. We can improve the St. Lawrence and we can provide also a route through the Ottawa, which is the shortest of all the routes between east and west. When we are able to accomplish this I think we shall have solved the problem in a better way than that suggested here. At all events I offer you this suggestion today.

I am glad we have here the representatives of the Grain Growers' Associations who are helping us to frame legislation. That legislation was mentioned in the speech from the throne and is to be brought before parliament.

#### Hudson's Bay Railway

As the hour is so late I hope you will excuse me if I do not deal with the other problems you have mentioned. Let me say one word only with regard to the Hudson's Bay Railway. We are prepared to go on with the Hudson's Bay Railway at this moment. We will give due consideration to your representations. Government ownership as I said a moment ago is not altogether in my line, but I think I can go that far. Government operation is a matter as to which we shall give all due weight to your representations.

D. W. McCuaig:—Sir Wilfrid, I have to thank you for the patient hearing you have given us, for listening to us for this length of time, on behalf of the Canadian Council of Agriculture. We are now going to have a photograph taken of the delegation in front of the buildings, and we would like to have the pleasure of having you with us in that photograph.

Sir Wilfrid:—I shall be very pleased.

The proceedings then terminated at 2.30 p.m.



# The Canadian Council of Agriculture

NOTE—The beginning of the Dominion-wide farmers' organization was made at the annual meeting of the Dominion Grange in Toronto in November, 1909. At that meeting, at which representatives were present from the farmers' organizations from Manitoba and Saskatchewan, a constitution was drawn up and adopted. In the following month it was adopted by the annual convention of the Manitoba Grain Growers' Association at Brandon; in January, 1910, it was adopted by the annual convention of the United Farmers of Alberta at Edmonton, and in February, 1910, it was adopted by the Saskatchewan Grain Growers' Association at their annual convention held at Prince Albert. The Prince Albert convention was attended by E. C. Drury, Master of the Dominion Grange, and at the close of the convention the Canadian Council of Agriculture was formally organized, its membership being composed of the executive officers of the various affiliated associations. The first officers elected were: D. W. McCuaig, President Manitoba Grain Growers' Association, President; James Bower, President United Farmers of Alberta, Vice-President; E. C. Drury, Master Dominion Grange, Secretary-Treasurer. Each of the affiliated associations have voted \$100 to the funds of the Canadian Council.

The Canadian Council of Agriculture is the first successful attempt ever made to organize the farmers of all Canada. It is hoped that the work of organization will be pushed so that by another year there will be a live farmers' organization in every province of the Dominion, working shoulder to shoulder with its sister provinces for the solution of common problems.

The constitution of the Canadian Council is given below, and should be carefully considered by every reader of this booklet.

This Association shall be called the Canadian Council of Agriculture.

The objects of the Association shall be:

(a) To organize the farm population of the Dominion for the study of social and economic problems having a bearing on the happiness and material prosperity of the people.

(b) To collect such material from scientific and literary sources; the annals of class movements and the records of legislative enactments in our own and other countries as are necessary for the proper information of our people and disseminate the same.

(c) To formulate our demands for legislation and present them through

the officers of the Association to the notice of parliament and our different legislative bodies.

(d) To encourage the entry of our farmers into active membership in one or other of the political associations according to individual predisposition as a means to make the political parties without distinction responsive to and representative of the demands of the people who form the bulk of the population.

(e) To urge the adoption of co-operative methods by our members (but outside our association) in the purchase and sale of commodities that equity may be established in the business of exchange.

2. Any association of farmers entirely independent of government control in the Dominion of Canada organized to give effect to any or all of the purposes set forth in the preamble of this constitution shall be eligible for membership in this association.

3. The membership of the Council shall consist of the executives of each of the affiliated associations provided that no affiliated association shall be represented by more than five members.

4. The officers of the Council shall consist of a President, Vice-President and Secretary-Treasurer, to be elected from the members of the Council at each annual meeting.

5. Five members, to be drawn from not less than three associations, shall

constitute a quorum for the transaction of business at the annual or special meeting. The Council shall hold a meeting at least once a year.

6. The time and place of meeting shall be fixed by the President, providing that a meeting must be held when demanded by any three associations having membership in the Council. One month's notice of meeting must, however, be given, except a majority of associations declare for an emergency meeting, when one week's notice shall suffice.

7. The expenses incurred in the conduct of the business of the Council shall be provided for by a pro rata levy on the membership of the affiliated associations as shown in the last annual report of each.

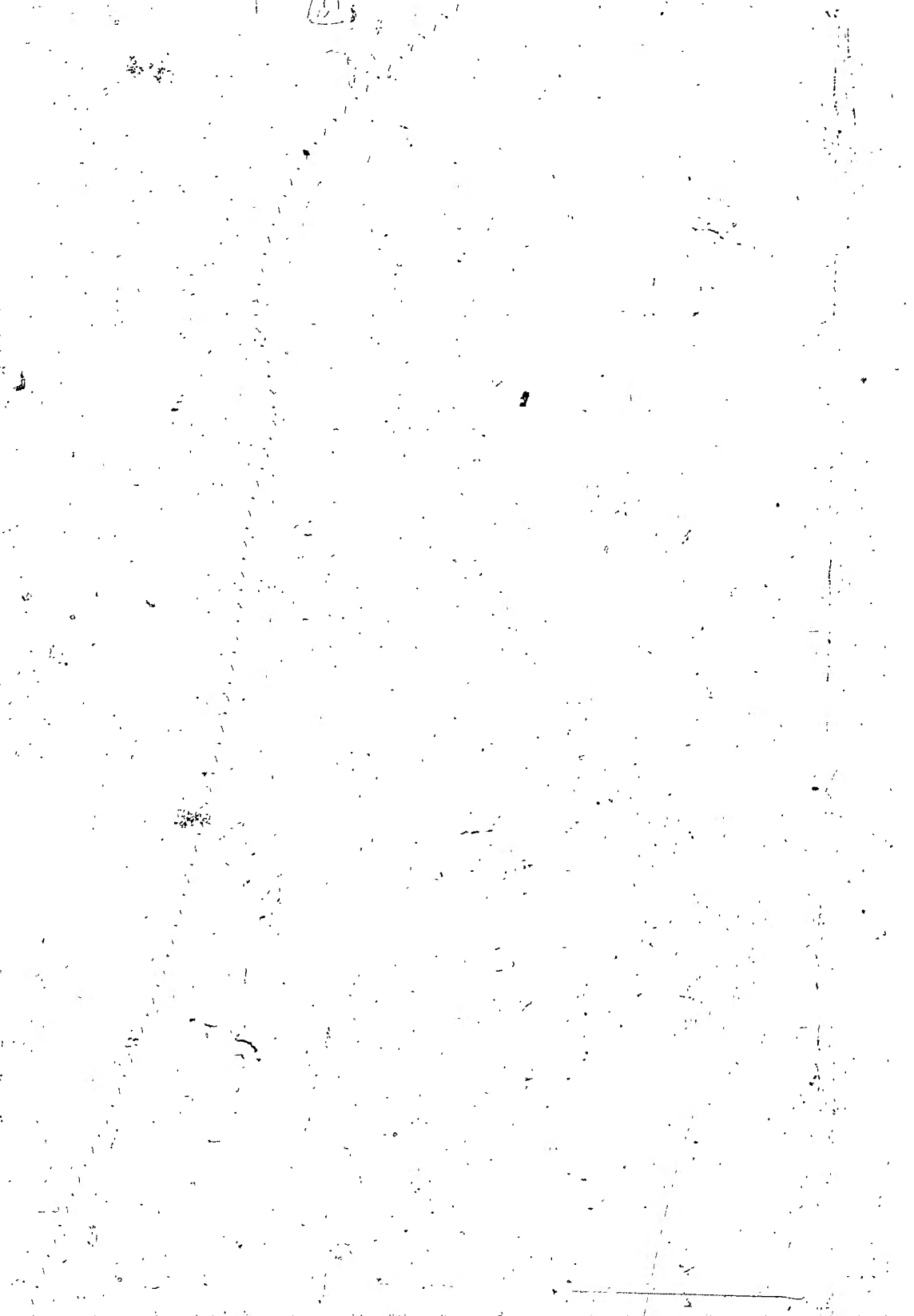
8. Travelling expenses of delegates to the Council shall be pooled, and the flat rate borne by the association which they represent in proportion to the number of delegates sent.

9. Living expenses of delegates when in session shall be borne by the association they represent.

NOTE—It is recommended that all associations seeking affiliation under the Council shall prefix their respective constitutions with a preamble setting forth the objects for which they are associated in the general terms of the preamble to the constitution of the Council.









# The Canadian Council of Agriculture

Sketch of Affiliated Bodies ::

## DOMINION GRANGE OF ONTARIO

The Grange was organized in the early seventies. Some ten years ago, when the Grange was taking comparatively little interest in public affairs, a Farmers' Association was organized in Ontario to voice the views of the farmers in regard to legislation. Later on the two organizations united, and since then, under the name of the Grange, have been an exceedingly active agency in maintaining the rights of the farm in matters of legislation. The taxation of the railways has been put on a fairer basis; farmers have been given the same rights in regard to drainage across railway lines that prevail in regard to drainage across private property, and railway companies have been made responsible for cattle killed on railways when killing results from imperfect protection of crossings. The Grange and the Farmers' Association were the first two farmers' organizations to appear before the Tariff Commission of 1905 for the purpose of protesting against the increase in the Tariff which protected interests were then demanding. For information apply J. J. Morrison, Secretary, Arthur, Ont.

## MANITOBA GRAIN-GROWERS' ASSOCIATION

This organization comprises a total membership of about 10,000 farmers with 200 local organizations throughout the province. The membership fee is \$1.00 per year. For information apply to R. McKenzie, Secretary-Treasurer.

## SASKATCHEWAN GRAIN GROWERS' ASSOCIATION

This organization comprises 10,000 farmers with 350 local organizations in the province. The membership fee is \$1.00 per year. There are 650 life members at \$12 each, of which \$10 is placed in trust fund and the interest used for the support of the central office. For information apply to F. W. Green, Secretary, Moose Jaw, Sask.

## UNITED FARMERS OF ALBERTA

This organization numbers about 10,000 farmers with 215 local unions. The membership fee is \$1.00 per year, half going to the local and half to the central, as in the other Western provinces. For information apply to E. J. Fream, Secretary, Innisfail, Alta.

# Every Farmer In Canada Should Become a Member

Every farmer in Canada should become a member of the best farmers' organization in his province. By so doing the farmers will possess the influence to secure their due from governments and parliament. When all the provincial organizations are united in the Canadian Council of Agriculture the farmers of Canada will then be a force to be reckoned with. They will be the ruling power of Canada and will be able to

## Secure Justice

against the combined forces of the manufacturers, the railways and other corporations that have received large government patronage. Farmers' organizations can all afford to be independent of governments. The time when government grants should prevent free expression of opinion has gone by. No government gives larger grants to any farmers' organizations than they deserve, and it is all the people's money, anyway. The farmers of Canada have nothing to gain by humility. Let them assert their rights. Denmark is a great success as an agricultural country.

## ∴ Why ∴

Because the farmers own the government. It is time the farmers of Canada owned their governments. It is time to declare their independence from all the oppression of special privileged classes.